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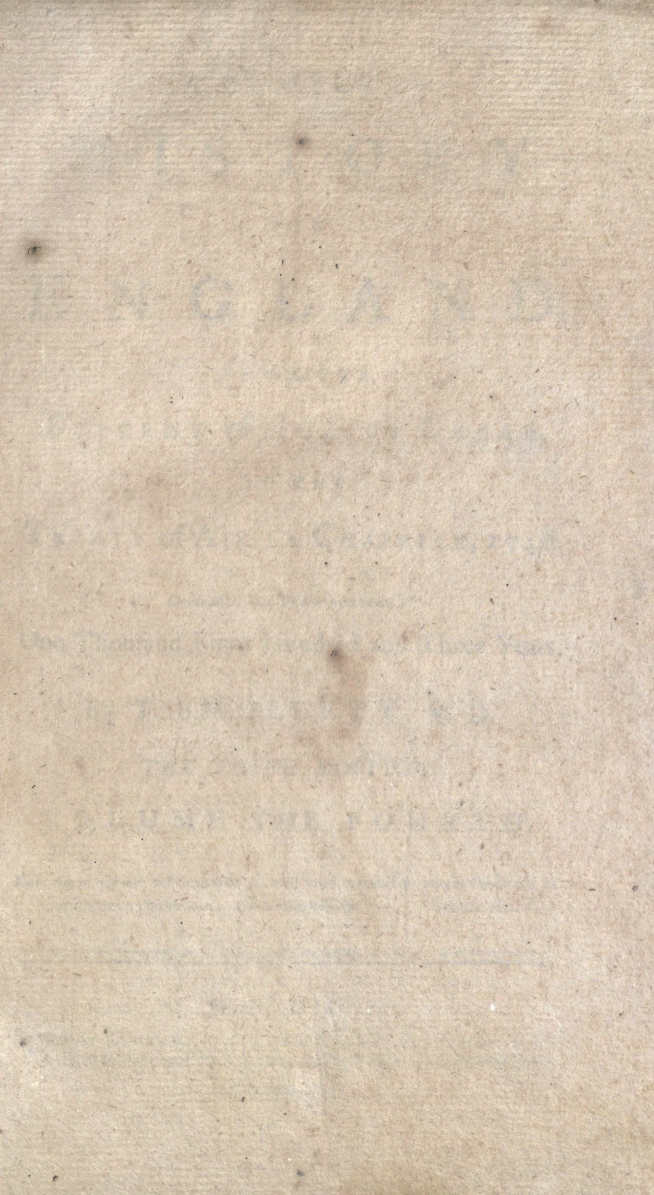
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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the
Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-row.

MDCCLVIII.

A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

DESCENT OF THE
KING OF ENGLAND

TO THE
TREATY OF ALBA

ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY

BY T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Not to be placed in the library of the British Museum.

Printed by J. B. Nichols, at the British Museum.

LONDON: J. B. Nichols, at the British Museum.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.
BOOK THIRD.

EDWARD III.

HAD the Black Prince granted an asylum to Pedro the Cruel, in his distress, his humanity might have been excused, and perhaps commended; but, surely, his engaging to restore such a monster of cruelty and injustice to the throne from which he had been so justly expelled, was an indelible stain in that character which had so long shone with unrivalled lustre. Cruelty, indeed, was a vice, of which the greatest characters of that age cannot be wholly acquitted; witness the carnage, conflagrations, famine, pestilence, and ruin, that attended both those illustrious Edwards in all their warlike expeditions. Notwithstanding that blaze of glory by which their memories are surrounded, the candid and judicious observer will perceive, that they were not the friends and fathers, but the destroyers of the human race. The prince's scheme in favour of Pedro is not even free from the suspicion of interested motives. The Castilian monarch gratified him beforehand for his assistance, by conveying to him the dominions of

A. C. 1366.
Edward the Black Prince undertakes the restoration of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile.

A. C. 1366. Biscay, Castro de Ordoales, Bilboa, and all the intermediate countries, in a formal treaty, signed and ratified at Libourne. The king of England not only approved of this expedition, but even contributed towards the expence, by consigning to his son one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, to be payed by the king of France, as part of his father's ransom. The prince of Wales raised all the money he could borrow, and melted down his plate for the service; and Pedro satisfied the Gascon nobility with promises of large sums for the levy-money, and pay of their forces. As they could not pretend to enter Castile while the kings of Arragon and Navarre adhered to the interest of Henry de Trastamere, ambassadors were sent to tamper with Charles, who consented to a conference with Don Pedro and the prince of Wales at Bayonne; where, in consideration of a large subsidy, and the cession of Guipuscoa, Vittoria, Alava, Logroño, Guduzen, Calahorra, and Alfaro, he not only renounced his engagements with Henry, but undertook to assist Pedro with a body of forces, and grant him a free passage through his dominions. While Don Pedro was employed in these measures for recovering his crown, Henry took all possible precautions to maintain his acquisition. He was no sooner elevated to the throne of Castile, than he bestowed great largesses on the freebooting companies, to which he had in a great measure owed his success; and he won the hearts of his subjects by acts of munificence, from which he acquired the epithet of Liberal. He had immediately dismissed the French forces, but retained the companies upon whose valour he chiefly depended. He thought he had attached them to his interest by his liberality; but he found himself egregiously mistaken. They were lawless ruffians whom no obligations could bind, and no principle govern. The greatest

part

part of them had served under the prince of Wales, A. C. 1366. and were in fact the subjects of his father. They knew his talents, admired his courage, and dreaded the thoughts of serving against a leader of such consummate capacity ; for, in so doing, they not only ran the risk of being vanquished, but also of being executed as traitors. Edward, by his emissaries, gave them to understand, that he had occasion for their service, and desired they would meet him at Guienne ; and those who received the intimation, forthwith demanded their dismissal of Henry, who had no suspicion of their design. Twelve thousand immediately began their march to the frontiers of Gascony ; and the rest, who were dispersed in quarters over the country, no sooner heard of the prince's invitation, than they assembled in order to follow their companions. Guesclin being consulted by Henry on this emergency, advised him to solicit the king of Arragon to block up the passes of his country, in order to prevent their return ; and he himself offered to bring a body of auxiliaries from France. The companies being thus intercepted, chose another route ; and, after having endured infinite hardships, arrived on the frontiers of Foix, which the count would not allow them to pass, lest they should ravage the country. But this obstruction was easily removed by the assurances of John de Chandos, who went thither, and enlisted them in the prince's service. Then they were divided into several bodies, and took different routes, by which they arrived at Bourdeaux, after one of the divisions had fought and gained a battle against a body of French forces, who attacked them at Montauban in Quercy.

The prince of Wales being joined by these free- A. C. 1367 booters, and a reinforcement from England, under the command of his brother John of Ghent, which,

A. C. 1367. when added to his other English and Gascon forces, composed a formidable army, began his march about the latter end of February ; and passing the Pyrenees in three divisions, consisting each of ten thousand horse, that marched within a day's distance of one another, arrived in safety at Pampeluna, where he was abundantly supplied with provisions and necessaries by the king of Navarre. From thence he advanced to Salvaterra, a town on the frontiers of Castile, the inhabitants of which submitted without resistance. Nevertheless, Pedro desired they might be all put to the sword, as a terror to other rebels who adhered to the usurper : but Edward disappointed his brutal revenge, by representing, that the massacre of those who submitted would drive the rest of his subjects to despair. From this place they proceeded to Vittoria, resolving to pass the Ebro at the bridge of Logroño, and take post at Navarel. Mean while Don Henry had assembled ten thousand Castilian men at arms, well mounted on barbed horses ; besides twenty thousand common horsemen on genets, armed cap-a-pée ; ten thousand cross-bows, and six times that number of infantry. With these he advanced to San Miguel, where he was joined by Bertrand du Guesclin, with four thousand men at arms, which he had raised in Brittany, France, and Arragon. Confiding in such a numerous army of well-appointed soldiers, Henry neglected the advice of the marshal de Andrehan, who proposed he should guard the passage of the Ebro, and ruin the English by cutting off their convoys of provision. He had already sent an herald to Pampeluna, to assure the prince of Wales, that he would fight him as soon as he entered Castile : and Edward, having detained the messenger until he had crossed the Ebro, retorted his defiance ; though, at the same time, he proposed terms of accommodation,

dition, which Henry rejected with disdain, advancing towards Najara, in order to give him battle. Edward, on the third day of April, marched towards the enemy, in the following order : the van was conducted by the duke of Lancaster and John de Chandos ; the prince himself commanded in the center ; and the rear was brought up by James king of Majorca, attended by Oliver de Clifton, the Captal de Buche, the lords of Armagnac and Albret, with other noblemen of Gascony. The right wing of the Spaniards was commanded by Bertrand du Guesclin, and the mareschal de Andrehan, at the head of the foreign men at arms ; the count of Sancelloni was posted on the left, with his brother Sancho ; and the main body was directed by Don Henry in person. Edward having observed their order from a hill which lay between him and the enemy, commanded the duke of Lancaster and John de Chandos to dismount their horsemen, and attack the right of the Spaniards under Guesclin, whom they accordingly charged with great impetuosity, at the head of the freebooting companies ; but, they met with such a warm reception, that the dispute continued a long time with dubious success. Mean while the prince attacked on the right ; and, at the first onset, broke the wing commanded by the count of Sancelloni, who instantly fled with two thousand lances. The prince, leaving the king of Majorca to finish the rout, wheeled about, and fell upon the main body of the enemy, commanded by Henry, who distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valour : though the prince of Wales penetrated thro' his battalia three times, he as often rallied it by the help of a body of reserve mounted on genets ; nor did he give ground, until the duke of Lancaster and Chandos having with great difficulty defeated their right wing, and taken Du Guesclin, with

A. C. 1367.

Edward
defeats Hen-
ry at Najara,
and re-esta-
blishes Pedro
on the
throne.

the mareschal de Andrehan, advanced to join the prince of Wales and the king of Majorca. Then the Spaniards, on the apprehension of being surrounded and cut in pieces, gave way on all hands; and Don Henry quitting the field, retired to Calahorra, from whence he escaped into Arragon. The victors pursuing the fugitives to the bridge of Najara, made a terrible slaughter: above five thousand gentlemen were found dead upon the field of battle; and the grand prior of the order of St. Jago, with the great master of Calatrava, and two thousand French and Spanish knights, were taken prisoners: while the loss of the English did not exceed four knights and fifty common soldiers.

Froissart.
Knyghton.
Rymer.

Pedro's in-
gratitude to
his restorer.

All the prisoners would have been put to death, had not the prince of Wales interceded warmly in their behalf with Pedro, who was prevailed upon to be reconciled with them, on their receiving the oath of allegiance; and to publish a general amnesty to all his subjects. He then set out for Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, with a guard of five hundred men at arms, commanded by Sir Guichard D'Angle; and was followed by the prince at the head of the army. There they kept Easter with great solemnity; and Pedro received deputies from all the considerable cities of Castile, with tenders of service, and assurances of loyalty. The prince now reminded Pedro of the money due to the troops, which he desired him to pay, that they might return, without being any longer a burden to the country. The Castilian pleaded inability; but proposed that Edward should stay with his forces in the neighbourhood of Valladolid, until he could raise the money at Seville, to which city he repaired, solemnly protesting, that the troops should be satisfied before Whitsuntide. Edward having resided in that city till Midsummer, received nothing but trifling excuses, which plainly shewed, that Pe-

dro had no intention to fulfil his engagements; and A. C. 1367.
indeed his ingratitude was a just judgment upon the
prince of Wales for having undertaken the cause of
such a ruffian. The heats of Spain becoming ex-
cessive, and the troops beginning to sicken, Edward
marched to Agreda, on the borders of Arragon, and
made an agreement with the king of that country
for the passage of the freebooting companies; while
he himself, with the rest of his forces took the route
of Navarre, through which he returned to Bour-
deaux, where he was received in triumph amidst
the acclamations of the people.

This season of rejoicing was not of long duration A. C. 1368.
in Guienne. The prince's glory was so acceptable Discontents
to the English nation, that the parliament which in Guienne.
met in May granted a large subsidy to the king,
who explained to both houses the nature of a treaty
which had been long in negotiation with the king
of Scotland. That prince offered to maintain a
perpetual peace with England, provided Edward
would renounce, for himself and his heirs, all title
to the superiority of his kingdom: but the lords
and commons declared, that they could not con-
sent to such a peace without disherison of the king
and his rights, which they were bound by solemn
oath to maintain to the utmost of their power.
The king had sent for the prince of Wales from
Guienne; but by this time the discontents which
began to appear in that country, prevented his de-
parture. His finances were exhausted by the late
expedition; and Pedro's breach of faith reduced
him to great difficulties. Six thousand of the free-
booters, who returned to Guienne, lived at free-
quarter, because Edward could not pay their ar-
rears; and the inhabitants complaining of the in-
juries they daily sustained from those licensed rob-
bers, the prince ordered them to quit the country.
They had such personal regard for Edward, that
they obeyed his command; and, passing the Loire,
established

A. C. 1368. established their head-quarters in Champagne : but, even after their departure, there was so much pay due to the rest of the troops, that he could find no other method of discharging the debt, but that of raising a tax upon chimneys ; which was extremely disagreeable to the inhabitants, and violently opposed by the count of Armagnac, the lord of Albret, who had lately married Margaret, sister to the queen of France, and other great barons of Gascony, who loudly declared it an innovation to which they would not submit. They even retired to their castles, and threatened to rebel rather than subject themselves to an imposition so contrary to their privileges, which the prince of Wales had bound himself by oath to maintain.

Henry of
Trastamere
recovers the
throne of
Castile.

Henry count of Trastamere, taking this opportunity to retrieve the crown of Castile, assembled a small army, by the assistance of the duke of Anjou and the king of Arragon ; and, entering Old Castile, was every where received with open arms. Burgos, Valladolid, Leon, and Astorga, admitted him without hesitation. He was joined by a great number of the nobility, with their vassals and adherents : and met with no opposition, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of Toledo, which, refusing him admittance, he resolved to besiege it in form. Pedro, who resided in Seville, began to assemble an army to oppose his competitor ; but very few of his own subjects repaired to his standard. Nevertheless, the kings of Grenada and Tremesin furnished him with twenty thousand Moors ; and his kinsman Ferdinand king of Portugal, sent a body of forces to his assistance. He expected a reinforcement of six thousand freebooters, under Sir Hugh Calverly ; but, without waiting for their arrival, he began his march from Seville, at the head of forty thousand men, to raise the siege of Toledo. Bertrand du Guesclin, who had by this time joined Henry with two thousand men at arms, advised

advised that prince to abandon the siege, and sur- A. C. 1369.
 prise Pedro on his march. His advice was follow-
 ed, and the scheme executed with such success, that
 Pedro was routed, and took refuge in the castle of
 Monteil; which being unprovided for a siege, he
 attempted to make his escape by night, but was
 taken and murdered in cool blood, by the hands of
 his brother Henry. Thus fell, by the hands of an
 assassin, one of the most savage tyrants who had ever
 sat upon any throne; and his crown was usurped
 by his murderer, whose son Henry afterwards se-
 cured himself in possession of Castile, by marrying
 Catherine, daughter of John of Ghent, by his se-
 cond wife Constance, the eldest daughter and
 heiress of Don Pedro the Cruel.

*Froissart.
 Rainald.*

During this revolution in Castile, the discontent- Rupture be-
 tween France
 and England.
 ed lords of Gascony, finding the prince of Wales
 inflexible in the article of the Fouage, which was se-
 verely exacted, had recourse to the king of France;
 and, repairing to the court of Charles, presented
 appeals to the court of peers for redress. They
 assured him the prince of Wales had lost the hearts
 of his subjects in Guienne, not only by this exor-
 bitant tax, which was rigorously collected, but also
 by conferring all posts of dignity and profit upon
 Englishmen, to the prejudice of the natives. They
 affirmed, that should war be once actually declared,
 the whole dutchy would rise in favour of Charles.
 They undertook to maintain the war at their own
 expence; and promised to the king of France,
 that they would live and die in his quarrel. Tho'
 Charles was not a prince of a very martial disposi-
 tion, he longed for an opportunity to recover the
 territories in Guienne, which had been alienated
 from his crown in the late peace, as well as to assert
 his sovereignty over the whole dutchy; yet he was
 averse to engage in a war which he foresaw must
 be attended with great danger and expence. While
 he

A.C. 1369. he thus fluctuated between fear and ambition, the Gascon noblemen were amused with undetermined promises and rich presents, and allowed to summon the prince of Wales, in his name, before the court of peers, to answer their complaints. Edward, provoked at this citation, sent a message to Charles, importing, that he was ready to set out for Paris, at his invitation, with sixty thousand men in his retinue. The French king at last resolved to break with England, encouraged by the declining age of old Edward, and the lingering distemper which attacked the prince of Wales in his last expedition, and was generally deemed incurable. Charles began to make preparations in private; and resolving to possess himself of Ponthieu before he should declare war against England, tampered with the citizens of Abbeville, and the noblesse of that country, whom he gained over to his interest. At the same time he sent ambassadors into England, with assurances of his pacific disposition, and certain overtures for an improvement and fresh confirmation of the last treaty. These deputies found no difficulty in persuading Edward of their master's sincerity; and, in their return to France, met a messenger at Dover, dispatched by Charles with an insulting defiance to the king of England. Not a little surprised at this message, he ordered the lords Piercy, Neville, and Windsor, to set out immediately for Ponthieu, with a reinforcement for the defence of that province; but they had scarce reached Dover, when advice came, that Abbeville, St. Valery, Crotoy, Rue, and Noyelles, were surrendered by the inhabitants to the count of St. Pol and Hugh de Chatillon, officers of the French king. John duke of Berry, brother to Charles, Peter count of Alençon, and John count of Harcourt, who were hostages in England for the ransom of king John, had upon their parole obtained leave to pass a year
among

among their friends in France ; but, when they were apprised of this rupture, they refused to return, and served in the subsequent war, in contempt of all the principles of honour, as well as in violation of the oath they had taken. A.C. 1369.

The king of England understanding, that Guienne was also invaded, Scotland solicited to fall upon the northern counties, and a fleet preparing for a descent upon the southern coast of England, assembled a parliament in June ; and after having explained the unjustifiable conduct of Charles, desired the archbishops and prelates to consider whether he might not reassume the title and arms of France, resigned in consequence of a treaty which his enemies had so shamefully violated. They deliberated upon this subject, and answered in the affirmative ; and the lords and commons adopting the same opinion, he resumed them accordingly, and ordered his great seal to be altered. An extraordinary subsidy was granted upon skins and wool, and every thing prepared for the maintenance of the war which France had so unjustly kindled. The dukes of Anjou and Berry, reinforced by the freebooters on the Loire, whom Charles had engaged in his interest, fell into Guienne on different quarters, and were joined by all the nobility of the province ; while Sir Hugh Calverly returning from Spain, with six thousand of the same companies, enlisted in the service of the prince of Wales. The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, arriving about the same time from England, with a reinforcement, were detached into Perigort, where they took Bourdailles by stratagem ; and John de Chandos and Guichard d'Angle were sent to Montauban to oppose the progress of the duke of Anjou. The war was carried on in slight skirmishes with various success, and several places surprised on both sides. Among these, the castle of Belle-Perche

Hostilities
committed
by the
French in
Guienne.

A. C. 1369. Perche in the Bourbonnois was taken by the freebooters in the English service, who found in the place the lady Isabella, mother to the queen of France, and to the duke of Bourbon. She was honourably entertained in her own castle till next year, when her son at the head of a numerous army invested the place, and must have reduced it, had not the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke marched to its relief. These noblemen challenged the duke of Bourbon to battle; and, he declining the invitation, they carried off his mother and the garrison at noon-day, without his attempting to rescue her from the hands of her enemies. She was afterwards exchanged for Simon de Burley, one of the chief commanders of the freebooters, who had been surpris'd and taken in an engagement between Mirebeau and Lusignan.

Froissart.

On the side of Poitou the French surpris'd Châtelleraut, and reduced several places; while John de Chandos took the duke of Anjou's strong castle of Roche-sur-yon; but this gallant commander was afterwards mortally wounded in a casual encounter, at the bridge of Lussac, to the infinite regret of the English, whose interest in those parts suffered severely by his death; but the greatest prejudice they sustained was by the intrigues of John de Cardeillec, archbishop of Tholouse, who persuaded the city of Cahors and several other places to revolt from the prince of Wales, and put themselves under the French king's protection. Mean while John of Ghent duke of Lancaster, landing at Calais with a body of forces, marched directly to Harfleur in Normandy, with a view to burn the ships assembled in that harbour to transport an army of French into England; but the duke's design was defeated by the count of St. Pol, who threw himself into the place with a strong reinforcement: so that John desisted from the enterprize; and

Duke of
Lancaster
invades Nor-
mandy.

and having ravaged great part of Picardy, returned to Calais. The king of England, thinking it high time to strengthen his interest with foreign alliances, concluded a league with the dukes of Juliers and Gueldres, and Charles king of Navarre; which last, however, was in the sequel debauched by the offers of the French king. Edward likewise treated with the towns of Flanders, and Albert of Bavaria, administrator of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; but all he could obtain, was a promise of adhering to a strict neutrality. He was, however, secure on the side of Scotland, where, upon the death of David Bruce, his nephew Robert Steward had succeeded to the throne, and a truce for fourteen years had been concluded between the two nations.

Charles of France having obtained a very extraordinary aid from the three estates of his kingdom, resolved to complete the reduction of Guienne; and for this purpose ordered two numerous armies to be assembled. In the mean time he took his seat in the parliament of Paris, where he publicly declared Edward of England, his son Edward, and all his adherents, rebels to his sovereignty, and Guienne reunited to the domain of France. Bertrand du Guesclin concluded a league offensive and defensive between France and the king of Castile, who undertook to maintain a fleet against the English on the coasts of Guienne and Poitou; and after this negotiation Bertrand was recalled to serve in one of the armies under the duke of Anjou, who entered Guienne by Bergerac; while the duke of Berry, who commanded the other, invaded the same province by the way of Limoges. Their intention was to reduce the places that still held out for the English government; then join and surprise the prince of Wales in Engoulesme, where he usually resided. The duke of Anjou and Du Guesclin subdued the greatest part of the Agenois; and the duke

The dukes of Anjou and Berry enter Guienne with two numerous armies.

A.C. 1369. duke of Berry falling into the Limousin, surpris'd several castles, and invested Limoges, which the bishop persuaded the inhabitants to surrender.

The prince of
Wales takes
Limoges by
storm.

Prince Edward being informed of their design, declared they should never find him cooped up in town or fortress, and immediately assembled his forces at Cognac. The duke of Lancaster arriving about the same time from England with a considerable reinforcement, the two French generals, unwilling to hazard an engagement, dismissed their troops; and the one returning to Tholouse, the other retired into Berry. The Black Prince, incensed at the treachery of the bishop and people of Limoges, who had revolted to the enemy, summoned them to expel the French garrison, and return to their duty, otherwise he would raze their town to the foundation, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. As they rejected the citation, and treated his messengers with contempt, he marched directly towards the place, whither he was carried in a litter; and for a whole month employed his soldiers night and day in undermining the fortifications. The work being brought to perfection, he drew up his men designed for the assault, and ordered fires to be kindled under the props, which were no sooner consumed than above thirty yards of the wall fell down, and filled the ditch by which it was surrounded. Then the troops, rushing on the breach, opened the gates to the prince, who entered the place with a chosen body of men, and massacred all the French garrison, with about three thousand of the inhabitants. The bishop, who had been the author of the revolt, would have been beheaded as a traitor, had not the duke of Lancaster interceded in his behalf at that time, and the pope afterwards obtained his pardon. The season being pretty far advanced, the prince of Wales dismissed his forces, and

A.C. 1370.

and returned to Cognac; and, in the beginning of A. C. 1370. next year, repaired to England by the advice of his physicians, leaving the command in Guienne to the duke of Lancaster.

P. Daniel.
Froissart.

About Midsummer Sir Robert Knolles marched from Calais, at the head of a considerable army, and passing by Arras, ravaged Picardy without opposition: though he was attended by a flying army of French, who had orders to watch his motions, and harass him in his march without hazarding an engagement. For this reason Knolles was obliged to proceed with great circumspection: so that the country did not suffer much from his straggling parties. He did not attempt any town of consequence; but, after having traversed the Vermandois, Champagne, and Brie, where he raised some contributions, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Paris, and burned the adjacent villages, in hope of provoking the French to a battle. Charles had a strong body of forces within the city, and his nobility were eager to engage the English; but the king repressed their vivacity, and absolutely refused to hazard a battle, because he foresaw that the English would not undertake the siege, and could not remain much longer in their present situation, without being distressed through want of provision. Knolles accordingly retired by the way of Montlehery; and having ravaged Beauce and the Gatinois, marched into Le Maine, with design to take up his winter-quarters on the frontiers of Brittany. This scheme was opposed by Thomas lord Grandison, Walter Fitzwalter, and other young noblemen, who paid very little regard to the command or directions of Knolles, because he had been a chieftain among the freebooters. Their contempt of this leader was encouraged and augmented by the insinuations of Sir John Minsworth, whom Knolles had promoted to a considerable

Sir Robert
Knolles
marches to
the neigh-
bourhood of
Paris.

A. C. 1370.

able command in the army; but having embezzled large sums designed for the pay of the soldiers, he endeavoured to ruin his benefactor, that he might have a chance of escaping without being called to account for his fraudulent practices. By the instigations of this incendiary, those young adventurers refused to accompany Knolles into Brittany, but separating from him with their forces, established their quarters in Anjou and Touraine. Bertrand du Guesclin being about this time created constable of France, and resolving to begin his office with some signal exploit, assembled a body of troops, and advanced to Caen in Normandy, where being joined by the troops of that province, commanded by the mareschal de Blainville, he directed his march towards Le Maine, where a considerable body of the English was quartered. Knolles hearing of his intention, sent orders to his troops to reunite, in order to give the enemy battle; and among the rest, the lords Grandison, Fitzwalter, and Minstreworth, hastened towards him, that they might have a share of the engagement. Guesclin having received intelligence of their march, surprised them about the latter end of November near Pont de Valaines, on the borders of Le Maine; and though they made a gallant resistance, they were overpowered by numbers, and routed, four thousand of their men being either killed or taken, and Grandison himself falling into the hands of the enemy. Minstreworth, who was suspected of having given intelligence to the constable, made his escape, and returning to England, blamed Knolles for the disaster: but that officer's character was afterwards vindicated by Sir Allen Boxhull, who had served in this expedition, so much to the satisfaction of his majesty, that Minstreworth was summoned before the king and council, to vindicate his own behaviour. Rather than stand

Part of his
army defeated
near Pont
de Valaines.

trial, he fled the kingdom, and revolted to the enemy : then he was outlawed, and being taken in the sequel, suffered death as a traitor. After the action at Pont de Valaines, Knolles provided for the defence of S. Sauveur le Vicomte, and retired into Brittany, while the constable dismissed his forces, and returned to Paris.

He did not, however, continue long in a state of inactivity ; for in the beginning of the year he marched to the frontiers of Guienne, and reduced Milhaud in Rouvergne, and Uzez in Auvergne, which were defended by English garrisons. By the reduction of these places, the French quarters were greatly extended : and indeed the English interest decayed apace in this country, notwithstanding the vigilance of John duke of Lancaster, who reduced the fortress of Montpaon, and made the garrison prisoners of war ; then took by assault the strong town and castle of Mont-contour, in the Marches of Poitou, and put all the garrison to the sword. These were the only considerable actions that distinguished this year in Guienne ; but the French king had no intention to confine his operations to that province. He had meditated a descent upon England, and made great preparations for that expedition ; and Edward notifying this design to his parliament, which met in February at Westminster, the lords and commons granted an aid of fifty thousand pounds, to provide for the security of the kingdom. This tax was levied at so much for every parish in England ; and the convocations of Canterbury and York made a grant of the same sum for the public service. As the great offices of the state had been generally engrossed by the clergy, the lords and commons in this session complained of the practice as a disherison of their rights, and desired that the offices of chancellor, treasurer, clerk of the privy-
A. C. 1379
A. C. 1371.
Proceedings in parliament.
Rymer,
Rot. Parl.
C. 2
feal,

A.C. 1371. seal, barons, and chamberlains of the exchequer, might be bestowed for the future on laymen only. Though the king did not think proper to grant this request, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter resigned their posts of chancellor and treasurer; and for the future ecclesiastics were not so generally promoted to such dignities.

Edward sent part of the fleet prepared to oppose the French invasion, as a convoy to Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford and Southampton, who went as ambassador with the king's youngest son Thomas of Wodestoke, to conclude an alliance against France with the duke of Brittany. That prince, upon receiving a grant of Chisac, Melle, and Civray in Poitou, agreed to do homage to Edward, and put twelve of his sea-ports into the hands of the English who should come to his assistance. This alliance was afterwards improved into a league offensive and defensive, cemented by another grant of the honour of Richmond in England, which the duke of Lancaster resigned in his favour. The king of England had made overtures of such another league with the towns of Flanders; but his negotiations were defeated by the influence of their count Lewis, a staunch adherent to Charles, who, though he could not prevail upon the estates of his country to declare for France, found means to engage a great number of individuals in his interest. Among these was John Peterfon, commander of a Flemish fleet, which, having taken in a loading of wine and salt at Bayonne and La Baye, chanced to fall in with the squadron under the lord Guy de Brian, the English admiral, who conducted the earl of Hereford to Brittany. Peterfon bearing down upon him in an hostile manner, a sharp action ensued, in which the Flemish commander was defeated, with the slaughter of four thousand men; and he and his whole fleet were taken

The earl of
Hereford
defeats a
Flemish
fleet com-
manded by
Peterfon.

taken and conveyed to England. Edward resolved to improve this act of hostility, so as to compel the Flemings to declare themselves, with regard to the conduct they designed to observe in the quarrel between him and Charles. He sent a fleet to block up their harbours, take their shipping, and interrupt their commerce; and this vigorous step soon obliged them to sue for peace, which was accordingly concluded between them, and the count acceded to the treaty. This advantage was counterbalanced by another event in Guienne, which was attended with the loss of a great part of that province. Pedro, late king of Castile, had left his two daughters Constance and Isabella at Aire in Gascony, as pledges for the money expended by the prince of Wales in effecting his restoration. John of Ghent marrying the eldest of these princesses, assumed in her right the arms and title of king of Castile and Leon; and by asserting this claim, intailed upon himself the implacable enmity of Henry of Trastamere the present possessor of the throne, who exerted his utmost endeavours to ruin the English in Guienne, which was the only country that afforded John a convenient opportunity to invade his dominions.

The duke of Lancaster returning to England with his new consort, the king appointed John Hastings earl of Pembroke to succeed him in the government of Guienne; and that nobleman embarked in June with a small body of forces for the defence of the country. When the fleet that conveyed him arrived in the road of Rochelle, they were encountered by the Castilian navy, consisting of forty large carracks, besides vessels of an inferior burthen, under the direction of one Owen, a native of Wales, who had entered into the French service. Though the Spanish ships were much larger than the English vessels, and supplied with cannon,

The earl of Pembroke is defeated at sea by the Spanish navy.

A. C. 1732.

A. C. 1372.

Froissart.

which the others wanted, the battle was maintained all day with dubious success, the English being joined by John de Harpeden seneschal of Rochelle, who embarked with the lords of Tonnay-Boullonne, Surgeres, and Limers, and a small party, on board of four inconsiderable vessels. Next day the engagement was renewed at high-water, and continued till three in the afternoon, when victory declared for the Spaniards. The cannon made terrible havock among the English; the earl of Pembroke was boarded by the enemy and taken alive, with Sir Guichard d'Angle, Sir John Curson, and several other persons of distinction. The vessel in which the military chest was deposited, perished with twenty thousand pounds in ready money; and all the rest of the ships, with the knights, soldiers, and mariners, fell a prey to the victors, who sailed home with their booty. This defeat would in all probability have been followed by a defection of the Rochellers, had not the Captal de Buche chanced to enter the town next day with six hundred English and Gascon men at arms. Nevertheless, the disaster diffused a general consternation through the whole country of Guienne; and the French did not fail to make advantage of their apprehension. The constable Du Guesclin, entering Poitou with a numerous army, took Montmorillon by storm, and Chauvigny, Lussac, and Montcontour, surrendered without resistance: S. Sever in the Limousin sustained several attacks, and then capitulated, when the English troops were on their march to its relief; Poitiers opened its gates to the constable, while the English taking Niort by storm, put the inhabitants to the sword. Soubize being invested by the lord of Pons, John de Greilly Captal de Buche, marched privately in the night to his quarters, and took him prisoner; but was that same night surprised and taken in his turn, together with

with Thomas Piercy, by Owen, who had returned to the coast of Rochelle, and landing with a body of troops, planted this ambush, which succeeded according to his wish. The lord of Pons was rescued, Soubize surrendered to the victor, and John de Greilly was conveyed to Paris, where he ended his days; for Charles could not debauch him from the service of England, and would not admit to ransom one of the most brave, experienced, and honourable, of all his enemies.

The Capital being taken, there was no person left to oppose the progress of the Constable; and indeed all the inhabitants of the country were in the French interest. S. Jean d'Angely, Engoulesme, and Taillebourg, surrendered without resistance; the bishop and people of Saintes compelled Sir William Farringdon to give up the place; the castle of Rochelle was surprised by the citizens, but did not submit to France until they had obtained a grant of several extraordinary privileges, and demolished the citadel; St. Benoit in the neighbourhood was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword; Marans and Surgeres made very little resistance; Fontenay surrendered, after having stood several assaults; and Thouars capitulated for a truce till Michaelmas, when the garrison obliged themselves to yield up the place, if not relieved before that time by the king of England, or one of his sons in person. Edward being informed of this convention, as well as of the distressed condition of his adherents in Poitou, ordered his son John of Lancaster to postpone his invasion of Picardy, for which preparations had been made, and resolved to succour Poitou in person. He ordered four hundred large ships to be provided for the transportation of his army; and as he proposed, that the prince of Wales, who was now thought to be in a way of recovery, should accompany him to that country, he assembled the prelates, lords,

A. C. 1373. knights, and commons of the realm, that they might swear to maintain the succession of Richard, son to prince Edward, in case his father and grandfather should die in the expedition. The ceremony being performed, he appointed him guardian of the kingdom, and embarked with his army at Sandwich, on the thirtieth day of August, attended by his three sons, and a great number of English nobility; but being detained above a month by contrary winds, so that he could not possibly reach the coast of Poitou by Michaelmas, he returned on the sixth day of October to Winchelsea, and laid aside the enterprize for that season. His friends in Guienne had assembled a body of forces to join him at his landing, and though disappointed in that hope, would have attempted the relief of Thours; but the officers of the garrison declined their assistance, justly observing, that they were excluded, by the articles of their capitulation, from the benefit of being relieved by any person but the king of England, or one of his sons; and therefore they surrendered the place according to the convention. While the king continued on board, prince Richard had summoned a parliament to meet for the redress of grievances; but in consequence of Edward's unexpected return, the meeting of it was postponed till the third day of November, when the lord Guy Brian gave them to understand, that the prince of Wales had resigned the principality of Guienne into the hands of his father, because the revenue was insufficient, not only to maintain the wars of that country, but even to support the ordinary expence of the government. The lords and commons were so zealous for their monarch's glory, that, notwithstanding the vast expence of the late fruitless armament, they continued the subsidy on wool and skins for two years longer, and granted besides a fifteenth of their revenues and moveables, a tenth being
payed

payed by the boroughs : but these supplies came A.C. 1373.
too late to prevent the loss of Poitou and Saintonge,
which were very unprofitable acquisitions to Eng-
land, because they drained it of men and money ;
and the defence of them depended in a great mea-
sure upon the weather, which could not be favour-
able in every emergency.

Rymer.
Froissart.

The constable du Guesclin taking the field early A. C. 1374.
in the spring, invested Sivray, routed a body of Progress of
Du Guesclin
in Brittany.
English and Gascons, who attempted to beat up
his quarters, and by the middle of April intirely re-
duced the provinces of Poitou and Saintonge. St.
Sauveur in Normandy was besieged by the French,
and Becherel in Brittany invested by Oliver de Clif-
son, and other noblemen of that country, who, be-
ing in the French interest, hated John de Montfort
for his attachment to Edward. Owen of Wales
was said to be at sea with six thousand men at arms,
in order to make a descent upon England; and Ed-
ward, by this report, was induced to equip a large
fleet for the defence of the kingdom. William
Montacute, earl of Salisbury, being appointed ad-
miral, set sail for St. Malo in Brittany, where find-
ing seven large Spanish carracks, he burned them,
to the great dissatisfaction of the Bretons, who
suspecting their duke of having given intelligence
of these vessels to his father-in-law the king of
England, began to look upon him as an enemy to
his country. The king of France made use of
this pretence for confiscating that province; and
the constable Du Guesclin, being charged with the
execution of this sentence, entered Bretagne at the
head of an army. Rennes, Dinan, Guingamp,
Quimper-Corentin, Vannes, and several other
places, submitted without resistance; Nantes ob-
tained an honourable capitulation; Hennebon
and Le Conquet were taken by storm; and all
Brittany, except Brest and two other places, was
subdued

A.C. 1374. subdued before Midsummer. John de Montfort, finding himself abandoned by his subjects, took refuge in England, leaving the management of his affairs in Brittany to Sir Robert Knolles, whom he appointed his lieutenant. That officer having put his own castle of Derval in a posture of defence, retired with Sir William Neville to Brest, which was provided with all necessaries for sustaining a siege, and inhabited by people who were staunch to the interest of their sovereign. This place the constable invested with six thousand men, sending Oliver de Clifton with the rest of his army to besiege Roche-sur yon, on the borders of Poitou. The garrison, after having stood some assaults, agreed to surrender, if not relieved in thirty days. Then Clifton undertook the siege of Derval, and was joined by the constable himself, who had converted the siege of Brest into a blockade: Derval being hard pressed, the garrison demanded a capitulation, by which they obliged themselves to surrender, if not relieved in two months by the duke of Brittany, or some other general able to keep the field against the French forces; and two knights and an esquire were delivered as hostages for the performance of these articles. Knolles seeing no prospect of relieving his castle, but by making the same capitulation for Brest, submitted to that expedient, and gave hostages for surrendering the place within forty days, in full confidence of being relieved by the earl of Salisbury, who hovered on the coast, and had lately received a considerable reinforcement from England. He accordingly landed his soldiers in the neighbourhood, and sent an herald to the constable at Nantes, with a message importing, that he was come to relieve Brest; and demanding, that he would either release the hostages, or come and give him battle. Du Guesclin told him, he was ready to fight if he would advance

to Nantes where the treaty was concluded; and A. C. 1374.
 the earl signified that he would meet him at Nantes,
 provided he would furnish his troops with horses
 for the march. This proposal being rejected, the
 earl continued in his camp until the term of the
 capitulation was expired, and then entered Brest,
 which he supplied with a reinforcement, provisions,
 and necessaries; in consequence of which Du
 Guesclin sent the hostages to prison. Sir Robert
 Knolles repairing to his castle of Derval, gave the
 French to understand, that the place being his
 own inheritance, could not be given up without
 his leave; and therefore he rejected the capitula-
 tion, which had been made without his authority.
 At the expiration of the two months the duke of
 Anjou demanded the place, threatening to behead
 the hostages in case of refusal. Knolles vowed re-
 taliation upon the French prisoners that were in
 his hands; and the duke putting his threats in
 execution, the other caused three French knights
 and an esquire to be beheaded in sight of the
 besiegers, who forthwith abandoned the enter-
 prize. By this time the duke of Anjou and the
 constable were summoned to Paris, in order to op-
 pose the progress of the duke of Lancaster, who
 began his march from Calais in the month of July,
 with an army of thirty thousand men; and
 having ravaged the open country of Artois and
 Picardy, without making any attempt upon the
 fortified places, which were well provided with
 garrisons and provisions, passed through Cham-
 pagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Forez, and Au-
 vergne, into the province of Guienne, having
 been all the way attended by a body of French
 troops, which had orders to avoid an engage-
 ment. In order to defray the expence of this ex-
 pedition and the ensuing campaign, a parliament
 was convoked at Westminster in the month of
 November,

*Expeditions
 in Picardy
 by the duke
 of Lancaster.*

A. C. 1374. November, when the lords and commons, after having conferred together, granted two fifteenths for counties, and as many tenths for boroughs, to be levied in two years, with an additional duty on merchandize ; though these aids were conditional, because by this time a treaty was set on foot at Bruges, under the pope's mediation.

Rot. Parl.
Rymer.

The duke
of Anjou
conquers
Gascony.

As the count de Foix, whose lands were a parcel of the ancient dutchy of Aquitaine, had hitherto observed a strict neutrality, without giving assistance to either party, the duke of Anjou resolved to compel him to a declaration ; and taking the field immediately after Easter, with the constable and the majority of the Gascon lords, reduced Mont de Marson, compounded with the abbot of St. Sever, took Lourde by assault, and entering Bearne, undertook the siege of Sailles. Here he concluded a truce with the count de Foix, who agreed to hold his county of the French, provided the English should fail to meet them on the fifteenth day of August, at Moissac on the Tarn, to decide their pretensions in battle. After this agreement, the duke of Anjou returning to Perigeux, concluded a cessation of arms with the duke of Lancaster till the end of August, at the instances of the pope's legates : and it was stipulated, That this suspension should be prolonged by a subsequent treaty, to be managed in the beginning of September by Lancaster at Calais, and Anjou at St. Omer. John of Ghent, confiding in this agreement, by which all acts of hostility were suspended, embarked for England in July, with the duke of Brittany, and the English noblemen who had served him in this expedition ; and the duke of Anjou appearing at Moissac on the day appointed, was admitted into the town, where he received the homage of the count de Foix. There he continued till the end of August, when
alledging

alleging the truce was expired, he made himself master of La Reole, and forty towns and castles submitted to him without opposition; in a word, he, without striking one blow, reduced the whole province of Gascony, except Bayonne, Bourdeaux, Mortagne, Bergerac, and a few other places on the Dordogne. The duke of Anjou, having properly secured his conquest, repaired to St. Omer; and the truce was continued till the first day of May in the following year.

The conferences for peace at Bruges were still maintained in presence of the pope's legates, tho' hitherto they had little reason to believe they should be able to effect an accommodation: and, in the mean time, the castle of Becherel in Brittany, which had been gallantly defended by Sir John Cornwal, was surrendered to the French by capitulation. John de Montfort, sovereign of that country, accompanied by the earls of Cambridge, Marche, Warwick, Stafford, and Kent, set sail from England in the beginning of May, with a considerable body of forces, and landed at St. Mahé in Bretagne, which they took by assault: the same fate attended St. Pol de Lion; but Morlaix, Lannion, Lantreguier, Roche-derien, Guingamp, and Roche-Bernard, submitted without resistance. Then he invested St. Brien; and Oliver de Clifton tried to make a diversion, by undertaking the siege of a fort lately erected by Sir John Devreux, in the neighbourhood of Quimperly. Montfort immediately quitted St. Brien, and advanced against Clifton with such secrecy and expedition, that he had no intimation of his march, until he was within two leagues of his quarters; so that he scarce had time to throw himself into Quimperly. The duke of Bretagne was extremely incensed against this officer, not only as his implacable and indefatigable enemy, but also as author of all those barbarous counsels

A. C. 1374.

John de
Montfort's
success in
Brittany.

A. C. 1375.

A. C. 1375. counsels which had produced so much bloodshed and desolation. It was by his advice that the hostages of Derval were put to death. He had with his own hands assassinated fifteen Englishmen, who, at the reduction of Benon, had retired to a tower, and surrendered upon capitulation: he had sworn, that he would never give quarter to any native of that kingdom; and such was the sanguinary disposition of the man, that he was stiled the Butcher of Brittany. Montfort approaching Quimperly, ordered an immediate assault to be given; but his soldiers were repulsed by the valour or despair of the defendants. The viscomte de Rohan and the lord of Beaumanoir commanded the garrison, and had given the duke so many causes of offence, that they had very little hope of mercy. Finding it impracticable to maintain the place against the vigour of his assaults, they and Clifton offered to surrender, on condition of being admitted to ransom without loss of life or limb; but he insisted on their surrendering at discretion. Then they sued for a truce of eight days, at the expiration of which they would yield themselves up, if not relieved in the interim. This request was granted, because there was no prospect of their being succoured; yet in that interval, the besiegers received advice of the truce concluded at Bruges, together with the duke of Lancaster's orders to desist from all hostilities. Montfort, sacrificing his revenge to his honour, raised the siege immediately, and dismissing the English troops, retired to Auray. The French were not so punctilious with respect to the garrison of St. Sauveur, which, notwithstanding the same kind of capitulation, were obliged to surrender, tho' they claimed the benefit of the truce, which the besiegers interpreted to their own advantage. The French court, however, being ashamed of the transaction, agreed to pay forty thousand franks of gold for the place.

D'Argentré.
Daniel.
Rymer.

place, or in default of that payment, to deliver it A. C. 1375. into the hands of the legates for the use of the king of England.

The truce was managed by the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of London, and the lord John Cobham, as commissioners from Edward: the deputies of France were the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the count de Salebruce, with the bishops of Amiens and Bayeux. After much altercation and debate, they at length agreed, That all hostilities should cease from the twenty-seventh day of June till the fifteenth of September: That during this term there should be a free intercourse between the two nations: That all prisoners should be released: That no new forts should be erected by either party; but that they should assist each other in suppressing robbery, murder, and other outrages: That Henry king of Castile, and John de Montfort duke of Brittany, should be comprehended in this agreement: That hostilities should cease in Brittany; and the forces of Edward and Montfort be removed from that country, except two hundred men to guard the places which the duke still possessed: and lastly, That the two kings should send commissioners to Bruges by the fifteenth day of September, to settle the articles of a solid pacification.

Truce between
France and
England.

This convention was deemed dishonourable in England, where the people began to be very much out of humour with the administration. They saw the fruits of the money they had wasted, and the blood they had shed, almost blasted; they saw the Black Prince hastening to his grave, the nation governed by a knavish ministry, and the great Edward sunk into dotage. He had outlived all his spirit and magnanimity, and become the contemptible slave of an infamous woman called Alice Perrers, who had been a domestic of his late virtuous queen

Rymer.
Edward's
dotage and
degeneracy.

Philippa,

A. C. 1375. Philippa, and married to William de Windsor, at one time lieutenant of Ireland. Edward was so infatuated by the personal charms of this new idol, that he resigned himself wholly to her direction; and, in order to gratify her avarice, encouraged certain corrupt practices, which, in the vigour of his intellects, he would have disdained to countenance. He was even so weak as to convey to this abandoned favourite the jewels and moveables of the queen Philippa: she had the presumption to preside in the public courts of justice; she created and displaced ministers at her pleasure; so that no person of ability or virtue would be concerned in the administration. The royal authority grew into contempt; the reins of government were shamefully slackened; and the whole kingdom complained of mismanagement and oppression. Robert king of Scotland had concluded a treaty with France, in which, among other articles, it was stipulated, That no Frenchman should serve against Scotland; nor any Scot enlist with the enemies of France. The Scottish king accordingly recalled his subjects from the army of England; and in so doing gave such umbrage to Edward, that he issued orders for arming the northern militia to repel the invasion which he seemed to think was meditated by the king of Scotland. Robert looked upon this preparation as a design to invade his dominions, and arming in his own defence, a petty war ensued between the wardens of the Scottish and English Marches. The earls of Marche and Murray massacred the English at a fair in Roxburgh, in revenge for the death of a Scot who had been murdered in the same place. The English fell into Scotland, and plundered the estate of Sir John Gordon, who indemnified himself by entering England, from whence he returned with a large booty, and Sir John Lilburn, whom he had defeated and taken. Then the lord Piercy crossed the

Ch. Everham,
Tyrrel.

the border with seven thousand men, who were routed by a stratagem; and Sir Thomas Musgrave governor of Berwick was intercepted and made prisoner by Sir John Gordon, on his march to join the lord Piercy. Thus the two nations carried on a kind of skirmishing war till the death of Edward.

A. C. 1375

The people of England respected their monarch even in his failings. They remembered the lustre of his former conduct: they viewed the glories of his reign, and the vigour of his government; and bore with his infirmities, until the effects of them became pernicious to the commonwealth. The public treasure was lavished without any advantage to the kingdom; the revenues were embezzled; the government had borrowed money at exorbitant interest, and forced the king's creditors to take the tenth, twentieth, and even the hundredth penny, by way of composition: the subjects laboured under many other grievances, which the parliament now resolved to redress. It had been summoned to meet on the twelfth day of February, but did not sit for the dispatch of business till the twenty-fourth day of April. Sir John Knivet the lord chancellor, having opened the assembly with a speech, in which he explained the preparations of France, and represented the necessity of granting an aid to defeat the purposes of that indefatigable enemy, the lords and commons having conferred together, continued the subsidy on wool and skins for three years longer than the term for which it had been granted; and though they excused themselves from raising a larger supply for the present, on account of the pestilence, murrain, and destruction of grain, under which the kingdom had for some time laboured, they declared they would grant another aid, in case any new cause of expence should intervene. But before they provided for the necessities of the government, they made a warm remonstrance

The parliament demands a redress of grievances; and prosecutes the king's favourites.

A. C. 1375. upon the grievances of the nation. They complained of the embezzlement of the public treasure, and usurious contracts, which had been made by some of the king's officers, to the unspeakable prejudice of the revenue. They desired the king would augment his council to ten or twelve of the chief prelates and nobility; and that nothing of moment should be transacted without the advice and concurrence of four at least of that number: provided, nevertheless, that the chancellor, treasurer, privy-seal, and the king's other officers, might perform their functions independent of those counsellors. They likewise insisted upon the king's restraining his ministers and officers from receiving gifts and presents, except their own pensions and perquisites: and they impeached several individuals for having raised money illegally, and committed extortion in the exercise of their offices. Among these was Richard Lyon, a merchant of London, who farmed the king's customs: he was accused of usury, as well as of having smuggled wool and different sorts of merchandize, to other ports than Calais, where the staple was established. Perhaps they would not have deemed him an object worthy of their regard, had not they expected he would have discovered his abettors and connexion with some of the greatest noblemen of the kingdom. John of Ghent himself was suspected of being concerned in these fraudulent and oppressive practices; and tho' he escaped on this occasion undiscovered, the lord Latimer, who was chamberlain and privy-counsellor to the king, was convicted of such clandestine traffic, and other instances of oppression and corruption. That nobleman made a very strong and distinct defence; but such was the antiministerial spirit of the parliament, that he was deprived of his employments, and confined in the Marshalsea, until he should pay a fine of twenty thousand marks. Other offenders, of

different degrees, were prosecuted at the same time; and, among the rest, the favourite Alicc Perrers, against whom a particular ordinance was levelled, forbidding all women, and her in particular, to solicit business personally in the king's courts of judicature; nay, she was actually banished before the end of the session.

A. C. 1375.

Rymer.
Rot. Parl.

At this period, the English lost their darling prince of Wales, who, after having been emaciated by a lingering distemper, died at the palace of Westminster, in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the unutterable sorrow of his father, and the deep-felt regret of the whole-nation, which had flattered itself with the prospect of uninterrupted happiness under the reign of such an accomplished sovereign. Instances of his generosity and moderation we have already recorded; and such was his military prowess, that all Europe considered him as the most invincible hero of the age in which he lived. He never fought a battle that he did not gain; nor undertook an enterprise in which he did not succeed. The soldiers loved him to a degree of enthusiasm; and always fought under his banner with an assurance of victory, which no odds could lessen, and no accidents disappoint*. His affability, politeness, piety, clemency, and liberal disposition, have been celebrated by different historians. But, after all these encomiums, if we may be allowed to judge from the transactions of his life, we shall pronounce his character rather striking than amiable, and not so much the object of love, as the theme of admiration. The particular instances of his clemency have not been handed down; unless we bestow that title on his behaviour at Najara, where he pre-

Death of the
Black
Prince.

Froissart.

* John de Greilly, Captal de Buche, was so affected with the tidings of his death, that he is said to have refused his food, and pined away in his confinement at Paris, unable or unwill-

ing to survive his beloved master, from whose interest and service the court of France had tried in vain to seduce him, by offers of extraordinary preferment.

A. C. 1376. vented Pedro from massacring his subjects in cool blood. But we find him committing terrible devastations, in his march from Bourdeaux to the Loire, through a defenceless country. We see him espousing the cause of a brutal monster, who ought to have been hunted down as the foe of the human kind: oppressing the subjects of Guienne into revolt and rebellion; and afterwards putting the inhabitants of Limoges to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Even his military talents seem to have been confined to an impetuosity of personal valour; for he planned no scheme that denoted a great extent of capacity or invention, but, on the contrary, entangled himself, even in that expedition which produced his greatest glory, with such temerity of indiscretion, that nothing but the enemy's folly and precipitation could have prevented his ruin or captivity: in that case he would have been justly blamed for his misconduct; and Poitiers, which proved the consummation of his renown, would have turned out the scene of his disgrace*.

His son Richard created prince of Wales. Influence and intrigues of the duke of Lancaster.

The parliament, which adored the memory of the Black Prince, desired they might have an opportunity to pay their duty to his son Richard, as heir apparent to the crown; and, in an address to the king, petitioned that he might be created prince of Wales, and have the honours which his father had enjoyed. Mean while both houses attended the hearse of that beloved prince to Canterbury, where his obsequies were solemnized with great magnificence: and after the funeral, Richard was by patent created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. He was invested

* Edward acquired the surname of the Black Prince, from the misery he intailed upon the French nation. He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury. He had two legitimate sons, namely, Edward, who died in his in-

fancy; and Richard, born at Bourdeaux, who succeeded his grand'ather on the throne of England. And beside, these, he is said to have had a natural son, called Sir Roger de Clarendon, Walsingham, Thorn, Froissart.

with

with all his father's honours and lands, except those A. C. 1376. that were assigned to his mother as her dower; and, in the beginning of the next year, he received the order of the garter. This active parliament petitioned that justices of the peace might be named by the lords and knights who represented the counties in parliament; that they might be sworn before the king's council; that they should not be removed without consent of parliament; and that they might be allowed appointments for subsistence. The king, thinking this demand encroached upon his prerogative, replied, that he and his council would appoint justices of the peace, and take into consideration the other part of their proposal. The demands of the parliament seemed to increase in proportion to the condescension of the ministry; and the opposition became so troublesome, that the duke of Lancaster, who now governed the kingdom, was glad of an opportunity to put an end to the session. Edward had by this retired to Eltham in Kent, where he entirely divested himself of the cares of government, and seemed to indulge his sorrow for the loss of his eldest son. John of Ghent being A. C. 1377. declared regent of the kingdom, insinuated himself into the favour of the princess of Wales, who resided with her son Richard at Kennington in Surry; and he acted in concert with Alice Perrers, who now regained all her former influence. At her instigation, the regent imprisoned Sir Peter de la Mere, who had spoken with great freedom against her in the late parliament: for the same reason the earl of Marche was deprived of his marechal's staff, which was given to the lord Piercy; and all the temporalities of William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, seized upon frivolous pretences. Then they began to take measures for chusing another parliament, of a complexion different from that of the last; and they succeeded in their endeavours. It

A. C. 1377. was summoned to meet on the twenty-seventh day of January; and, in the interim, conferences for a peace were carried on at Bruges, tho' with very little prospect of success: for the French king demanded the restitution of Calais, and the repayment of great part of his father's ransom. Edward not only refused these demands, but even insisted upon France's renouncing all claims to the sovereignty of Guienne. The truce, however, was prolonged to the first day of April; and the court of England filled the nation with alarms of invasion from France, Spain, and Scotland. The ministry likewise fomented the discontents of the people with respect to papal usurpations; and cherished a spirit of resentment against all foreigners without distinction.

Complaisance of the new parliament. Riot in London.

The new parliament granted a considerable subsidy, by way of poll-tax, which was even extended to all the clergy, except the mendicant friars: but, as the necessities of the court would not admit of a delay, until this aid could be collected, the ministers demanded a loan of four thousand pounds from the city of London, which refused to advance the money. This refusal was resented in such a manner by the court, that Adam Staple was removed from the mayoralty by a special mandamus, and Sir Richard Whittington appointed as his successor in that office. The commons manifested their complaisance to the ministry, not only in the supplies which they readily granted, but also in reversing a great many uncourtly resolutions which had been taken in the preceding parliament. The sentence pronounced against lord Latimer was revoked; Lyon was pardoned; and Alice Perrers restored to all her former rights, privileges, and estate, on pretence that she had never been tried before the parliament for the misdemeanours laid to her charge. The citizens of London presented several petitions concerning their trade, and the choice of a
coro-

coroner; and these being disregarded by the duke of Lancaster and the ministry, the city was filled with clamours and discontent. The enemies of the duke industriously circulated idle stories, importing that he had advised the king to abolish the government of the city, and reduce it under the authority of the lord marechal, who, by his behaviour, seemed to confirm this suspicion; for he ordered a person to be arrested and imprisoned in his own house, though it stood within the liberties of London. This outrage, added to their former resentment, incensed the populace to such a degree of fury, that a general riot ensued. They plundered and destroyed the house of the lord marechal, and would have sacrificed him to their revenge, had they found him in his own habitation. Luckily for him, he happened to dine that day with the duke of Lancaster, at the house of a foreign merchant, in a different part of the city. Disappointed in this part of their expectation, the multitude proceeded to the palace of the Savoy, belonging to the regent, which they immediately stripped of all its rich furniture, after having murdered a priest who ventured to blame their proceedings. Their intention was to have released Sir Peter de la Mere, and destroy the duke of Lancaster; but, finding neither, they hung up the arms of John reversed, as belonging to a traitor; and would have committed much more terrible outrages, had not they been pacified by the bishop of London, whose person they revered. The duke and the marechal hastened to Kennington, to advise with the princess of Wales; who, being very popular in the city, sent thither four knights of her domestics to expostulate with the rioters, and represent the iniquity and ill consequences of their proceedings. They forthwith desisted, in obedience to her commands; but desired the knights to tell the duke of Lancaster, they expected the bishop of

A. C. 1377. Winchester and Sir Peter de la Mere should be tried according to the laws of their country. Then the magistracy sent a deputation to assure his majesty, that they had used their utmost endeavours to prevent this disturbance. The king received them graciously, and admitted of their excuse; but the duke was so incensed at the presumption of the populace, and the injury he had sustained in his effects, that he not only exacted a submission from the chief citizens, but also deprived the mayor and aldermen of their offices, and filled their places with his own creatures.

Tyrrel.

Death and
character of
king Ed-
ward.

The prolongation of the truce with France being expired, the militia of England received orders to be in readiness to oppose an invasion, for which the French were supposed to be making preparations. They had actually drawn down their forces towards the sea-side; but, instead of embarking for England, they invested the strong fort of Outwick, in the neighbourhood of Calais, commanded by William Weston, who surrendered almost without opposition; but Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, soon retook this fortress, and ravaged the adjoining territories of France, from which he carried off a considerable booty. This was the last exploit performed by the English in the reign of Edward, who had lately removed from Eltham to Sheen in Surry, where he sunk into unmanly indolence, and gave himself up to the enjoyment of loose desire in the arms of his favourite concubine. His constitution had been impaired by the fatigues of his youth; so that he began to feel the infirmities of old age before they approach in the common course of nature; and now he was seized with a malignant fever, attended with eruptions, that soon put a period to his life. When his distemper became so violent that no hope of his recovery remained, all his attendants forsook him, as a bankrupt no longer able to require

requite their services ; the ungrateful Alice, waiting until she perceived him in the agonies of death, was so inhuman as to strip him of his rings and jewels, and leave him without one domestic to close his eyes, and do the last offices to his breathless corpse. In this deplorable condition, bereft of comfort and assistance, the mighty Edward lay expiring, when a priest, not quite so savage as the rest of his domestics, approached his bed ; and, finding him still breathing, began to administer some spiritual consolation to his soul. Edward had not yet lost all perception : what then must have been his reflection, when he found himself thus abandoned and forlorn in the last moments of his life ? He was just able to express a deep sense of sorrow and contrition for the errors of his conduct, and died pronouncing the name of Jesus. Such was the piteous and obscure exit of Edward III. undoubtedly one of the greatest princes that ever swayed the scepter of England : whether we respect him as a warrior or lawgiver, a monarch or a man. He possessed the courage and romantic spirit of Alexander ; the penetration, the fortitude, the polished manners of Julius ; the munificence, the liberality, the wisdom of Augustus Cæsar. He was tall, majestic, finely shaped, with a piercing eye and aquiline visage. He excelled all his cotemporaries in feats of arms and personal address. He was courteous, affable, and eloquent ; of a free deportment, and agreeable conversation : and had the art of commanding the affection of his subjects without seeming to solicit popularity. He was a constitutional knight-errant ; and his example diffused the spirit of chivalry thro' the whole nation. In imitation of the youthful monarch who delighted in tilts and tournaments, every individual betook himself to the exercise of arms, every breast glowed with emulation, every heart panted with the thirst of glory ; and when he took
the

A. C. 1378.

Chr. Evell.
Walsing.
Tyrrel.

A. C. 1378. the field, there was not a soldier in his army who did not serve from sentiment, and fight for reputation. The love of glory was certainly the predominant passion of Edward, to the gratification of which he did not scruple to sacrifice the feelings of humanity, the lives of his subjects, and the interest of his country. And nothing could have induced or enabled his people to bear the load of taxes with which they were encumbered in this reign, but the love and admiration of his person, the fame of his victories, and the excellent laws and regulations which the parliaments enacted with his advice and concurrence *.

* He was buried in Westminster-abbey, near his queen Philippa, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters, namely, Edward the Black Prince; William of Hatfield, who died in the cradle; Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, who married Elizabeth, heiress of William de Burgh earl of Ulster. He was afterwards married to Yolante, sister to John Galeazzo Visconti duke of Milan; and by her he had one daughter called Philippa, who was matched with Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche: Edward's fourth son was John of Ghent, who married Blanche daughter and co-heir of Henry duke of Lancaster, to which title he succeeded; his second wife was Constance, eldest daughter of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, in whose right he assumed the arms and title of that crown; after her death he married Catharine Swinford, who

had already bore to him several illegitimate children. The fifth son of Edward was Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, and afterwards duke of York; the sixth was William of Windsor, who died in his infancy; and the seventh Thomas of Woodstoke. The daughters were, Isabel, married to Enguerrand de Coucy, created earl of Bedford; Joan, who died of the plague at Bourdeaux; Planche, who died in her infancy; Mary, matched with John de Montfort duke of Bretagne; and Margaret, married to John Hastings earl of Pembroke. Edward is said to have had two natural Children, John Baldac, and Isabella, married to Sancho Martinez de Leiva, a Spanish nobleman, who in her right quartered the English arms in his escutcheon. Fabian, Walsingham, Rymer, Sandford,

OF THE CHURCH.

From the death of Henry III. to the death of Edward III.

THE ecclesiastical history of this period turns chiefly upon the disputes between the crown of England and the popes, who, since the shameful resignation of king John, had always looked upon this country as a tributary kingdom and conquered province, which they had a right to rule and impoverish. The English people, under the reign of the first Edward, found the Roman yoke so intolerable, that they begun to concert measures for redeeming themselves from such infamous slavery, though not before they had, by repeated complaints, represented their grievances to the court of Rome; and solicited in vain for redress. They complained of the frequent appeals that obliged individuals to go and exhaust their time and money in soliciting causes at the court of Rome; and that the pope had usurped the collation of almost all the benefices of the kingdom, contrary to the rights of the king, the chapters, and patrons. Sometimes his holiness, from the plenitude of his apostolic power, reserved to himself the right of filling all the vacancies which arose from translation, death of the incumbent, or any other cause whatsoever: by which means those pontiffs eluded all the canonical elections in England, without advancing any other reason, but that they had reserved to themselves beforehand the right of filling up the benefice. They had certainly formed the design of engrossing, by little and little, the collation to all the ecclesiastical livings in the kingdom; for, when they could not decently pretend to have made such a refer-

Source of
the disputes
between the
crown and
the pope;

reservation of a right to nominate, they generally found some objection to the elect, and appointed another in his room; but as those who had been canonically elected were always supported by the kings of England, the popes found means to evade this opposition, in conferring bishoprics and benefices before they were vacant, by provision, which the English people considered as an unsufferable grievance. This was the more provoking, as the benefices bestowed by the pope's plenitude of power were generally granted to foreigners, cardinals, or their kinsmen, who, by virtue of a dispensation, enjoyed the revenues without residing in the kingdom. These benefices were generally farmed by people who employed curates at very small salaries: the service was neglected; the churches went to ruin; all hospitality was banished; and the practice of instructing people in the duties of the christian religion intirely neglected. Besides these inconveniencies, the money was carried out of the kingdom, to the infinite prejudice of the natives; an hardship that will appear to have been the more severe, if we consider that in the reign of Henry III. the income which foreign ecclesiastics drew from England exceeded the royal revenue. The popes frequently imposed taxes on the English clergy; sometimes on pretence of crusades; sometimes to relieve the necessities of the holy see; and often by granting tithes to the king, who gratified his holiness with share of the plunder. The clergy of England was obliged to maintain legates and nuncios at a great expence, over and above presents and procurations, which they extorted by virtue of the pope's authority: the annates or first-fruits of all benefices were payed to the roman pontiff; St. Peter's penny was levied with great rigour; and the tribute incurred by king John was considered as a most scandalous oppression.

At

At the same time the clergy industriously encroached upon the civil power and prerogatives of the sovereign : they extended their jurisdiction over all matrimonial causes ; they took cognizance of every dispute in which religion could in any shape be interested ; and, instead of supporting the rights and prerogatives of the crown, they always espoused the interest of the pope, whom they affected to consider as their only sovereign. These are the principal grievances which the kings and parliaments of England endeavoured, from time to time, to redress, by occasional statutes and ordinances, which furnished the popes with a pretext to complain in their turn, that the church was in danger, and the cause of God neglected and betrayed. Pope Clement V. in a bull, inserted among the public acts, enumerates the following causes of complaint against the conduct of the English government : the cardinals were not allowed to enjoy the prebendaries bestowed upon them, as persons ordained by God to bear a share in the fatigue of the government of the church. Though the pope had incontestably the right to confer benefices in England, as well as in other dominions, those for whom he provided were not allowed to take possession, nor even to excommunicate such as had the presumption to oppose their endeavours to avail themselves of their right. The citations issued from Rome on this subject, were disregarded : notaries were forbid to publish them, and the natives to answer any appeals out of the kingdom. The pope's nuncios were prohibited from exercising their functions until they should have received the king's licence, and some of them had been confined in public prisons, from whence they had been obliged to purchase their release with considerable sums of money. The magistrates would not suffer excommunicated persons to be imprisoned, even after the forty days allowed them

and between
the secular
and spiritual
jurisdiction.

to give satisfaction to the church. The king frequently inhibited ecclesiastical courts from taking cognizance of causes that properly belonged to their province; and even deprived them of jurisdiction over the members of the clergy, without considering that ecclesiastics are altogether independent of lay-tribunals. Clerks were condemned in lay-courts, even without the consent of their superiors: they were obliged to appear in their shirts before civil tribunals, in defiance of their immunities; and though they were remitted to the ecclesiastical court, when reclaimed, they were frequently acquitted and released by lay-judges, before the ecclesiastical court had taken cognizance of the affair. Clerks were acquitted or condemned by juries of laymen. The nobility of the kingdom frequently oppressed the abbeyes, by lodging in them at a great expence, under the frivolous pretext, that the monasteries had been founded by their ancestors. During the vacancy of abbeyes, those whom the king appointed to take charge of them damaged the premises and wasted the income; and finally the tribute of a thousand marks due to the holy see was not payed to the pope, but converted to other uses.

These were the causes of complaint reciprocally urged against each other, by the courts of England and Rome, and the subject upon which divers laws and regulations were enacted, as the interest of either chanced to predominate. At the death of Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, the monks elected their prior William Chiltenden, who going in person to Rome, in order to solicit the pope's approbation, was persuaded of his own want of capacity to exercise that function; he accordingly resigned the archbishopric, which the pope conferred upon Robert Kilwarby, a black friar. This transaction happening while Edward I. was in Palestine, the

the guardians of the kingdom acquiesced in the nomination of his holiness, though they protested against any such proceedings for the future; and the monks, in order to preserve their privilege, confirmed Robert by a new election. Edward, in his return from the Holy Land, assisted at the council of Lyons, where a new aid was granted for that service; and his holiness sent over a nuncio to collect it from the ecclesiastics of England. In the third year of Edward a famous statute was enacted at Westminster, providing, that a clerk apprehended for felony shall be delivered to the ordinary, if demanded, according to the privilege of the holy church. In a subsequent parliament at the same place, it was enacted, after a canon passed in the second council of Lyons, that every person twice married should be utterly deprived of all clerical privileges; and that although they were bigamists even before this constitution, justice should be executed upon them as upon other laymen. But this law was repealed in the sequel.

Kilwarby being created a cardinal and bishop of Oporto, was obliged to abdicate his archbishopric; and the monks of Canterbury chose in his room Robert Burnel bishop of Bath and Wells, who being disagreeable to the court of Rome, the pope filled the see with John Peckham, a Franciscan friar; and Edward did not think proper to dispute his nomination. When this prelate arrived in England, he convoked a provincial synod at Reading, in which he confirmed the decrees of the council of Lyons against pluralities; then he passed several canons directly levelled against the royal prerogative, denouncing sentence of excommunication against those who should obtain orders from the king to hinder certain causes from being carried into the ecclesiastical court: against those magistrates who should refuse to imprison excommunicated persons

Kilwarby
archbishop
of Canter-
bury created
a cardinal.
Succeeded
by Peck-
ham, who
passes several
canons
which he is
obliged to
revoke.

Ann. Wal-
verl.

persons after the forty days granted by the canons ; against those who should encroach upon the lands of the clergy, and all who should sell provisions to the archbishop of York within the province of Canterbury. This last canon was contrived to terminate the dispute between the two archbishops about carrying the cross, and had it taken place the prelate of York would have found some difficulty in attending the parliament at London. Edward no sooner understood the purport of these regulations than he ordered Peckham to be summoned before him and his council in parliament, where he revoked those canons which seemed to trench upon the prerogative of the crown ; and they were accordingly annulled and abolished. The next provincial synod was held at Lambeth, at which the regulars refusing to attend, were prosecuted and punished by the archbishop. This council was convened to review and reinforce the former constitutions, and establish some points of speculative doctrine touching the administration of the sacrament under one species. Peckham is distinguished by the severity of his ecclesiastical discipline, the scrupulous austerity of his own conduct, and his unshaken attachment to the immunities of the church as well as to the papal authority. He censured some opinions of one Knapwell, as heretical ; and among others, his asserting the authority of the scriptures over that of the pope and the fathers. He afterwards published a set of articles to be observed by all the parish-priests of his jurisdiction and diocese, regulating their morals, and recommending the faithful discharge of their pastoral functions. Several diocesan synods were held in different parts for these laudable purposes, and one in particular at Exeter, for enforcing the constitutions of Otho, Ottobon, and the late synod at Lambeth, touching the adoration of the eucharist.

Thorn,

After

After Pèckham's death, the archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant for two years, and then the monks of Christ's church elected Robert Winchelsey, who was confirmed by the king and the pope. He set out for Rome to solicit the pall and confirmation, and during his absence Edward demanded that aid of the clergy which has been already mentioned in the history of his reign. Robert, being informed of this oppression, obtained from Boniface a bull, prohibiting the clergy, on pain of excommunication, from paying taxes to the crown, without the consent of his holiness; and this was the source of that dissension between the king and the clergy, which last body at length prevailed in the confirmation of the great charter, empowering the archbishops and bishops to denounce the sentence of excommunication against all infractors of the public liberty. About this period the Minorites of England offered to pay forty thousand crowns of gold, as a consideration for a bull, empowering them to purchase estates, and live upon the revenues of their order. The pope understanding, that the money was deposited in the hands of a banker at Rome, seized the prize, for which he gave acquittance and absolution to the banker, and dismissed the deputies without granting their request. The archbishop Winchelsey held a provincial synod at Merton, in which several constitutions were enacted for the better regulation of the clergy; and, in the mean time, Edward having made a conquest of Scotland, filled up the vacant sees of that kingdom. Lamerton was created bishop of Glasgow, notwithstanding the opposition of the Culdies or Black Monks, who had always enjoyed the right of election. The concessions which Edward had been obliged to make by the necessity of his affairs, encouraged the pope to make further encroachments. He invested William de Gainbo-

Robert Winchelsey is promoted to the see of Canterbury.

Rymex,

rough, who had been promoted to the see of Worcester, with the temporalities as well as with the spiritualities of the diocese; but the king, whose affairs had by this time taken a more favourable turn, not only obliged the prelate to renounce the clause in the bull, touching the temporalities, but ordered him to be fined in a thousand pounds, for having accepted such a grant.

The dispute between the pope and the French king rendering Edward a necessary ally to his holiness, who was a native of Bourdeaux, he resolved to humble the clergy who had joined the great lords in opposing his arbitrary measures. Winchelsey was accused of having engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the king in favour of the prince of Wales, and knowing he lay at the mercy of his majesty, he was deserted by all his former resolution. He kneeled, wept, supplicated, embraced the knees, and implored the blessing of Edward, who, having nothing placable or forgiving in his temper, reproached him bitterly for his past conduct, and told him he should be judged by an ecclesiastical tribunal. He accordingly entered a formal complaint against him with the pope, for crimes amounting to high-treason: and his holiness being rendered propitious by the present of some gold plate, summoned the archbishop to Rome, suspended him from the execution of his office, and sent commissioners to seize his temporalities. Winchelsey, being thus reduced to the utmost distress, repaired to court, and begged Edward would allow him to go abroad, and grant him a safe-guard and protection for his person. The king ordering the door of his chamber to be thrown open, that every body might come in and hear the answer he intended to make, "We grant you (said he) a passport to go beyond seas; but you shall have no safe-guard or protection for your return: we remember your intrigues and treasonable

He opposes
the king,
and is accus-
ed before the
pope of high-
treason.

sonable practices; out of reverence for St. Thomas and the church over which you preside, we have delayed taking vengeance upon you by virtue of our own power; but have remitted you to the pope, who, we trust, will revenge our injuries, and treat you as you deserve: we exclude you from our protection and clemency; you have been always mercilefs, and have no title to mercy." Such an harsh reply must have been extremely mortifying, and doubtless intimidated the archbishop. Such was the inveteracy of the king's revenge, that the monks of Canterbury were ejected from their convent, for having treated him with common humanity in his distress; and the bishop of Winchester was divested of his temporalities, and deprived of the king's protection, because he interceded for the metropolitan, and chanced to call him his lord in the course of his mediation. When Winchelsey appeared at Rome, the pope treated him with equal severity; and, in all likelihood, his ruin would have been inevitable, had not a dispute happened between his holiness and Edward about the temporalities of the see, which the king retained in his own hands, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the nuncios who had been sent over for the administration of the diocese. His holiness, nettled at Edward's interfering on this occasion, removed the spiritual suspension; and even then he refused to restore the temporalities, until the pope insisted upon his right so strenuously, that the king, rather than run the risk of an open rupture, agreed, that the profits of the sequestration should be payed into the hands of his agent, provided he would give a fair account of what should be received.

Thorn,

Rymer:

From this period the good understanding between the courts of Rome and England seemed to decrease till the death of Edward, though Winchelsey still continued in disgrace. In the last parliament of his

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment against
Testa and
other agents
of the pope.

reign, convened at Carlisle, the remarkable statute *De Asportatis Religiosorum* was enacted, in consequence of the remonstrance and complaint of the barons and laity, who represented, that the superiors of the several orders residing on the continent, had made a practice of crossing into England; and, under pretence of visitation, exacted several contributions from the houses of their respective orders established in this kingdom. That same parliament deliberated upon the exactions of the pope, which were managed by his nuncio Testa. They were digested into seven articles, giving an account of the great number of the best spiritual preferments, which the pope had granted by way of provision to Italians, foreigners, and non-residents, in prejudice and disherison of the founders, benefactors, and such as had the rights of advowson; of the rents and revenues of religious houses, which the pope intended to apply to the use of divers cardinals; of the first fruits of vacant benefices, reserved to the pope, and collected with the utmost rigour; of the Peter-pence exacted to treble the original value; of legacies for pious uses, extorted from testators, exacted by the authority of the see of Rome, and converted to other uses, contrary to the intention of the testator; of the illegal recovery of debts, by bribing the pope's clerks to summon and distrain the creditor, to the disherison of the king and his crown; and of legacies bequeathed in general terms, which the pope and clerks iniquitously appropriated to themselves, or converted to uses contrary to the will of the deceased. Testa, the pope's agent, being brought before the parliament, and examined touching these mal-practices, did not pretend to deny the charge, but justified his conduct in affirming, that he acted by the pope's authority. It was therefore resolved, That the aforesaid grievances, oppressions, injuries, and

and extortions, ought not to be permitted in the kingdom; and, Testa was enjoined to revoke and annul all such extortions practised by himself, his commissaries, ministers, vicegerents, adherents, and assistants, and safely deposit the money he had levied, until he should receive further directions from his majesty. A remonstrance upon this subject was drawn up in the form of a letter from the parliament to the pope; and all the agents of Testa were ordered to be prosecuted with the utmost severity. These vigorous measures were owing intirely to the spirit of the people, and not at all agreeable to the king, the situation of whose affairs in Scotland and Guienne would not admit of a rupture with the pope. He therefore, after the recess of parliament, put a stop to the writs of prosecution, granted a protection to the person of Testa, and Amalmeni, the other agent of the pope, and granted divers privileges to the court of Rome, which were altogether inconsistent with the proceedings of parliament. The agents grew insolent upon this triumph over the constitution, and the papal tyranny revived: but, by this time the people were better informed; they adhered to the resolutions of the parliament, and refused to submit to the imposition of the papal agents. Both sides presented addresses to the king, who found the popular resentment so warm, that far from countenancing the agents in their oppression, he inhibited them from proceeding to exact the annates or first-fruits of benefices, and interfere with the patronage of the king or his subjects.

Upon the accession of Edward II. to the crown of England, the pope desired to know, whether the accusation brought by the late king against Winchelsey should be prosecuted or dropped; and Edward not only sent an answer in favour of the culprit, but also invited him, by the appellation of Father, to return and resume the dignities and du-

Winchelsey
is restored by
Edward II.

ties of his function. Winchelsey did not fail to comply with this invitation; and, at his return to England, received all the temporalities which had been sequestered while his cause was depending. Immediately after his restoration, he convoked a synod at Winchester, where, among other canons, a very curious constitution was enacted against the abjuration of fornicators. By an old regulation two persons convicted of carnal commerce were obliged to abjure each other's company; and this was the extent of their punishment: but the clergy finding by experience, that this abjuration encouraged perjury in the parties, who seldom scrupled to break the oath for the gratification of their unruly desires, it was found necessary to lay aside the abjuration, and decree corporal punishment against fornicators for the second and third offence; but the fourth could be no other way attoned than by a marriage between the parties, who, at the second relapse, engaged in a conditional contract of matrimony, to take effect from the date of the fourth transgression. It was at this juncture that in a synod assembled at London, the Templars were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, notwithstanding the candid report which was made in their favour by Greenfield archbishop of York, who, together with the bishop of London, had been commissioned to examine their doctrines and conduct. Though Winchelsey seized every opportunity of expressing his gratitude to Edward II. and exerted all his influence to allay the animosity between the king and people, with respect to Gaveston's banishment, he would not recede from any part of the honour which he thought due to the dignity of his character, even when Edward took umbrage at his inflexibility. He refused to attend a parliament, in which the archbishop of York appeared with his cross borne before him; and being seconded by the clergy of his province, Edward was obliged to dismiss the other metropolitan,

tan. He afterwards thwarted the king's inclinations by adhering to Peckham's constitution against pluralities, which Edward desired him to wave in behalf of a favourite chaplain; and so long as he lived tenaciously supported the rights and privileges of the clergy against all opposition. His private conduct was certainly irreproachable: he censured sinners without respect of persons; he rewarded merit; discouraged all intrigues for church-preferment; and after his death, his memory was held in such veneration, that miracles were said to be performed at his tomb, which was at length pulled down, that it might no longer encourage the superstition of the populace.

Upon the death of Winchelsey, the monks chose Cobham dean of Salisbury for his successor; but that election was superseded by the king and the pope, who concurred in the nomination of Walter Reynolds bishop of Worcester, chancellor of the kingdom, whose interest was so great that he acquired a papal authority in England, by virtue of the bulls which he purchased of his holiness. By one of these the jurisdiction of the suffragans of Canterbury was suspended for the term of three years, during which he was impowered to make provincial visitations, even in places that were exempted by their charters from this intrusion. He was vested with the power of dispensing with an hundred clerks, under age, to hold benefices; and of giving absolution to an hundred persons for having layed violent hands upon ecclesiastics: he obtained leave to wave the canons against pluralities, in favour of forty clergymen; to dispose of any single ecclesiastical preferment, belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church within his visitation; and to grant indulgences for crimes committed within one hundred days last past, to all penitents who should confess to him in his visitation.

A. C. 1313.

Reynolds
created arch-
bishop of
Canterbury,

A. C. 1316.
The famous
statute call-
ed Articuli
Cleri.

About this period the famous statute called Articuli Cleri was passed for the relief of the clergy, whose privileges were encroached upon by the courts of civil jurisdiction. The statute is couched in form of a petition to the king, and his answer is subjoined to every article. They complained, that the king's justices intermeddled in testamentary causes, and took cognizance of tithes; that ecclesiastics were charged towards the king's carriages; that the king's mills were exempted from the payment of tithes; that clerks attending on the exchequer could not reside in their benefices; that, upon their decease, their effects were seized until their accounts were made up; that ecclesiastical possessions were wasted during vacancies; that clerks were admitted to free-chapels by laymen; that the king's judges tried causes of usury, defamation, violence offered to ecclesiastics, sacrilege, oblations, fences of church-yards and mortuaries; that prohibitions were granted without surmise; that clerks were summoned to answer in the king's court, and though acquitted, the informers escaped with impunity; that clerks were not allowed their clergy; that, after purgation, clerks were questioned in the king's court for the same offence; that persons were besieged in sanctuary; that the writ De Cautione admittenda was issued forth, although the church was not satisfied; and excommunicated persons were released from prison in the same irregular manner; that causes relating to debts between ecclesiastics, were determined in the temporal courts; that bishops were compelled by distress to be forthcoming for the appearance of clerks in the lay-courts, even without cause; that the church forfeited its right by the ceasing of rent or pension for the space of two years; that nuns were compelled to sue in lay-courts for the rights of possession devolving to them by the decease of their kindred; that

churches

churches were deprived of their privileges, in default of shewing the Quo Warranto by which they were held; that the proceedings of ecclesiastical judges were stopped by sheriffs and noblemen; that the refusals of bishops touching clerks presented, were examined in lay-courts; that religious houses were oppressed, by their patrons living upon them at free-quarter; that bigamy and bastardy were tried in lay-courts; that the king's livings remained long vacant; and that the clergy were injured by the statute of Mortmain. It was for the redress of these grievances that Edward passed the statute of Articuli Cleri, which, in all probability, the clergy owed to the civil distractions of the kingdom, during which the king could not venture to disoblige such a formidable body, whose cause the pope had espoused: nevertheless he made some efforts against the encroachments of the papal authority. Lewis Beaumont, having been appointed bishop of Durham by the pope, who invested him with the temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction, Edward obliged him to renounce the former, upon his performing homage for his preferment; and Reginald de Affer being promoted to the see of Winchester with the same privileges, was obliged to renounce them in the same manner.

In a council held at Oxford several useful constitutions were enacted, touching the qualifications of candidates for holy orders, the ordination of priests, and the confirmation of children. Edward's opposition to the pope intailed upon him the resentment of the clergy, especially the foreign ecclesiastics, who sided with the barons, and pretended that miracles were wrought at the tomb of the earl of Lancaster, who suffered for high treason. These stories being industriously circulated by the monks of Pontefract, where that nobleman's body was interred, and countenanced by the clergy of St. Paul's

in

A. C. 1322.

Council at
Oxford.

in London, the king ordered the church of the priory of Pontefract to be shut up, and severely reprimanded the ecclesiastics of St. Paul's cathedral. Towards the end of his reign he solicited the pope's consent to the dissolution of some small sees in Ireland, that they might be annexed to those that were of more consequence, to be filled with English prelates, as the most natural expedient to keep the natives in order. He likewise desired his holiness would confirm the bull of pope Honorius IV. subjecting the conventual church of Westminster to the immediate jurisdiction of the Roman see, independent of any English metropolitan.

Mepham is
elevated to
the see of
Canterbury;

A. C. 1328.

In the beginning of the third Edward's reign, while the queen sat at the helm of government, the pope was thwarted in his designs upon the see of Exeter. He had reserved it for his own disposal; but at the queen's recommendation Berkeley was elected, and consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not long survive this ceremony; for he was so bitterly reproached by the pope, for having presumed to contradict his will, that he drooped and died under his displeasure, leaving behind him the character of a weak and worthless prelate. Mepham canon of Chichester was elected as his successor in the see of Canterbury, and by dint of money procured the confirmation of the pope at Avignon. At his return to England he held a provincial council at St. Paul's in London, where the anniversary of the Conception was appointed as a festival; several constitutions were enacted against violators of ecclesiastical immunities, and those who obstructed the testaments of villains appertinent to lands, or of any other of a servile condition. In the course of this year a dispute happened between the crown and Lewis Beaumont bishop of Durham. The king had ordered the estates, of several traitors to be seized within
the

the bishopric; and Lewis opposing these proceedings as contrary to the privilege of the diocese, which was a county-palatine, the cause was heard before the lords, who gave judgment in favour of the bishop. Mepham proceeded with a high hand in making his visitations to the dioceses of Rochester, Chichester, Salisbury, Bath and Wells; but was opposed with an armed force by Grandison bishop of Exeter, who enjoyed the king's countenance: so that the metropolitan was obliged to desist, and died in a little time after this dispute.

The king recommended John Stratford bishop of Winchester, as a person fit to fill the see of Canterbury; and this prelate being approved by the pope and the monks of Christ-church, the see of Winchester was bestowed upon Adam Orleton bishop of Hereford, who had been so instrumental in the death of Edward II. As the reigning king had given orders to prosecute all who were suspected of having been concerned in the murder of his father, he affected displeasure at Orleton's promotion; and he was impeached in the court of Rome in several articles, to which he gave such answers as were satisfactory; for the prosecution was dropped, and he continued to have a large share in the management of public affairs. We have already given an account of the difference between the king and archbishop Stratford, and of the statute which was enacted in favour of the clergy; we shall now observe, that after he had got the better of his prosecution, he convoked a provincial synod at London, where a body of canons was enacted, obliging parishes belonging to monasteries, to answer the religious purposes for which they were endowed, by distributing to the poor a proportionable share of their incomes; settling the fees upon inventories and administrations of estates; restraining the exorbitancy of archdeacons and other spiritual superiors, who made a practice of extorting procurations from churches

and succeeded by John Stratford, who convokes a provincial synod at London.

A. C. 1342.

which

which they never saw, and burthening the clergy in their visitations; reforming the abuses in commutation of corporal penance; and preventing collusive inductions into livings.

A. C. 1343.
Provincial
synod.

In a subsequent provincial synod held by the same archbishop, other canons were established; the first of which, enacted at the king's request, pronounces the sentence of the greater excommunication against all rebels and disturbers of the king's peace; the second was levelled against the extravagance of churchmen; the third prohibits the practice of farming church-livings to laymen and women; the fourth denounced censure upon those who defrauded or interrupted priests in the collection of tithes; the fifth exacted tithes of the lopping of trees; the sixth prohibited laymen from touching the offerings made in churches; the seventh regulated the administration of wills and inventories; the eighth inhibited the bishops and their officers, within the province of Canterbury, from intermeddling with the goods of beneficed clergymen deceased, whose estates ought to be at the disposal of their executors; the ninth provided against all fraudulent conveyances during a person's life, by which the king may be deprived of his dues, and the wives and the children of their portions; the tenth forbade all buffoonery, revelling, and riots, at the night-watches in behalf of the dead, which ought to be spent in psalms and prayers for the soul of the deceased. The rest were calculated for preventing clandestine marriages, as well as the encroachment of lay-noblemen, who frequently interfered with the ecclesiastical officer, in the article of testaments made by villains, whom the lord of the manor wanted to exclude from that privilege; for providing against the contempt of church-censures; the practice of cutting down trees in church-yards for lay-uses; for deterring all persons from violating such effects as were sequestered by the bishop, his vicar-

vicar-general, and principal official; and for reforming the abuse of taking out writs against people who were at a distance, and entirely ignorant of the prosecution.

When Stratford archbishop of Canterbury died, A. C. 1349. Thomas Bradwardin was chosen to supply his place by the monks of Christ-church; but the pope set aside the election in favour of John Ufford, who was strongly recommended by Edward. This prelate dying of the plague before his consecration, the convent re-elected Bradwardin, who was confirmed by his holiness at Avignon. He was remarkable for his learning, piety, and unblemished morals, and had acted as confessor to Edward, who was loth to deprive himself of such a spiritual director, and for that reason had at first opposed his promotion. He too died within the year of his election, and was succeeded by Simon Islip, who had been secretary of state and keeper of the privy-seal: Simon Islip
chosen
archbi-
shop of
Canterbury. he affected great austerity of manners, and proceeded severely against those ecclesiastics who were found guilty of the least immorality. Notwithstanding all the provisions which had lately been made in favour of the clergy, the archbishop complained in parliament, that many ecclesiastics had been judged in secular courts, without any regard to their character; and the lay-nobility and judges alledged, that the privileges of the clergy encouraged them in the practice of all manner of vice and immorality; that when a clerk pleading his clergy was delivered up to the spiritual court, instead of being confined and treated with due severity, he was sumptuously entertained, and his prison converted into a house of pleasure. Warm debates ensued upon this occasion, but the king interposing his good offices the affair was compromised; the privileges of the clergy were confirmed, and the archbishop published a constitution touching the
impri-

imprisonment of clerks, which in some measure reformed the abuse of which the laity had complained. The old dispute concerning precedence reviving between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, produced some animosity and altercation, but was at length referred to the arbitration of the king, who decreed, that both prelates might carry the cross within each other's provinces; but that the archbishop of York, within two months after his elevation, should send a jewel about forty pounds in value, to the cathedral of Canterbury, as a testimony and acknowledgment of the primacy and superiority of that metropolitan.

Quarrel between the townsmen and scholars of Oxford.

A more dangerous quarrel arose between the townsmen and scholars of Oxford, occasioned by a trifling dispute between a student and a publican: A fray ensuing, the townsman assembled his fellow-citizens, who were joined by two thousand people from the country: the scholars were routed, murdered, their books and writings destroyed, and the whole university, except Merton-college, was entirely deserted. Inquiry being made into this affair by the king's order, the townsmen were found to be the aggressors. The bishop of Lincoln layed the city under an interdict; judges were sent down to try the rioters; and the magistrates and high-sheriff of the county were discharged from their offices; and both city and university resigned all their rights, privileges, and estates into the king's hands, that he might dispose of them according to his good pleasure. The scholars were honourably acquitted; and with respect to the townsmen, the king and council at Westminster, decreed, that they should be fined in two hundred and fifty pounds by way of damages; that the effects taken from the students should be restored; and that those who were charged with murder and maiming should give security for standing trial. Many liberties of the city

A. C. 1355.

city were granted to the university; and the mayor with sixty-three burgesſes, were ordered by the biſhop of Lincoln to repair to St. Mary's altar every year, on the tenth of February, and offer ſixty-three pence for ſo many maſſes to be ſaid for the ſouls of the ſcholars who had been murdered. In conſideration of this penance, the interdict was taken off, and the ſcholars returned to the univerſity, the privileges of which were now greatly enlarged.

Wood's An-
tiq. Oxon.

About this period died William Bateman biſhop of Norwich, a prelate of untainted morals, and an eminent patron of learning; but ſo rigorous in the performance of his function, that he obliged the lord Morley, a favourite of king Edward, who had ſhot ſome of his deer, to do public penance, by walking barefoot with a taper in his hand, through the city of Norwich to the cathedral, where he aſked pardon of the biſhop for his offence. The king iſſued a writ, commanding him to diſpenſe with the performance of this penance, but he payed no regard to the mandate; and even reſuſed to comply, after the king had ſeized his temporalities. Though Edward was at firſt provoked at his inflexibility, he could not help admiring his fortitude, and not only reſtored his temporalities, but alſo employed him in the management of ſome important ſtate-affairs. He had obtained a bull from pope Clement VI. annexing to his ſee the firſt-fruits of all the vacant benefices in his dioceſe; and he died at Avignon, where he chanced to be on an embaſſy to the pope. In the courſe of the ſame year Fitz Ralph archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing with great ſpirit the principles of the Mendicants, whom he accuſed of encroaching upon the biſhops and parochial clergy; and of engaging in a voluntary vow of beggary, which was contrary to the dictates of reaſon and ſcripture. The order being in high favour with the pope, procured a ci-

The archbi-
ſhop of Ar-
magh op-
poſes the
Mendicants.

tation to the archbishop, summoning him to appear before his holiness at Avignon, to answer for the propositions he had advanced. He obeyed the mandate, and maintained his assertions with great energy and learning. He moreover exposed the ignorance and immorality of the Mendicants, to the conviction of all mankind : but they were too hard for him in point of interest ; and he died at Avignon, without having been able to prevent the confirmation of their privileges.

Obstinacy
of the bishop
of Ely.

During these transactions, the bishop of Ely involved himself in a long train of prosecutions, by incurring the king's displeasure. He was convicted of having abetted certain incendiaries, who had burned some houses belonging to the lady Blanche Wake, daughter of the duke of Lancaster. The cause was afterwards reheard upon a commission of oyer and terminer ; but the court would not reverse the sentence, because the record of the former trial could not be found. The bishop being a man of an impatient temper, hurried up to court, and reproached the king for denying him justice. Edward, incensed at his presumption, ordered him to be prosecuted before the parliament. Though the offence was plainly proved, and the other bishops interceded for him on their knees, he refused to join in the supplication ; and the king was provoked afresh at the insolence of his deportment. Immediately after this trial, he was prosecuted for harbouring an assassin, who had murdered a domestic of the lady Wake ; and, as the parliament was not sitting, he was denied the privilege of being tried by his peers. He had recourse to the archbishop of Canterbury, desiring he might be admitted to his purgation, by swearing himself innocent, or by the oaths of twelve responsible compurgators : but the metropolitan being afraid of embroiling himself with Edward, declined granting his request, and advised him

him to throw himself on the king's mercy. The haughty prelate would not stoop to this condescension, but fled to Avignon, where he interested the pope so warmly in his behalf, that the king's justices were summoned to appear before his holiness, and give an account of their proceedings against the bishop of Ely. The judges disregarding this citation, the pope excommunicated their persons, and layed their estates under interdict : and the king being unwilling to break with the court of Avignon, ordered his agents to compromise the affair ; but the bishop died before an accommodation could be effected. Archbishop Islip not only reformed the discipline of the church, by watching over the morals of the clergy, and publishing some wholesome constitutions against the avarice, sloth, and extravagance of ecclesiastics, but likewise acted up to the dignity of his character in defending the liberties of the church, and punishing delinquents without respect of persons. He opposed the prince of Wales, who had seized the temporalities of the see of St. David's during a vacancy, and even obliged him to give them up. The countess of Kent after her husband's death had taken the veil, but afterwards becoming enamoured of a French gentleman, called Eustace Abricourt, she married him in private. Though the archbishop did not dissolve the marriage, he imposed severe corporal penance upon the parties ; and obliged them to undergo them literally without any commutation.

At Islip's decease William Addington bishop of Winchester was chosen as his successor ; but he declining the dignity, it was conferred upon Stephen Langham bishop of Ely, and at that time chancellor of England. Immediately after his elevation, when the war with France was renewed, the king published an order, requiring all the prelates to appear personally in defence of the realm, in case

A. C. 1365

it should be invaded; and take care that their tenents, dependents, monks, vicars, curates, and all other persons appertaining to holy church, should be prepared with arms to take the field against the enemy. Langham had not enjoyed his dignity above one year, when the king seized his temporalities for having accepted a cardinal's hat without his knowledge. He submitted to the king's pleasure; and after having for some time lived a private life at Oxford, retired to Avignon, where he was created bishop of Præneste, though he did not long survive his promotion. He was succeeded by William Wittlesey, a prelate of an inoffensive character, who minded little else than the exercise of his pastoral function. At this juncture died John Thorsby archbishop of York, a man of elegance and learning, and a professed enemy to the Friars Mendicant, an order which was by this time become a public nuisance to the kingdom: he was a benefactor to the cathedral of York, and published a set of diocesan constitutions which are still extant. The provisions made against papal encroachments were so ill executed, that foreigners engrossed all the best livings in England; and the freedom of ecclesiastical elections was almost utterly destroyed. Edward had made repeated remonstrances to the pope on this subject, but received no satisfaction; so that the nation was filled with clamour and discontent. The king issued a writ, to inquire into the number and value of the benefices in England possessed by foreigners; and an incredible number appeared to be in the hands of aliens, and even of such as were non-resident. Deputies were sent to the court of Avignon to complain of this usurpation, and desire the pope to desist from his provisions and reservations; but they trifled away their time in such a manner, that the parliament began to think there was a collusion between the pope and

Wittlesey
promoted to
the see of
Canterbury.

Johnson's
Canons.

the ministry. They presented a strong remonstrance to the king, complaining, that all the papal power in England was exerted to the disadvantage of the kingdom; and, that the immense sums it yearly payed to the pope were employed to support the enemies of the nation; that there was scarce one cardinal in the conclave who did not possess livings in England, yet all of them adhered to the enemies of the country: they therefore insisted upon a law, by which banishment should be inflicted upon all those who supported the pope in his claim upon reservations of benefices and provisions. When A.C. 1375 Wittlesey died the election fell upon Adam Easton, a cardinal, who had long resided at the papal court, and was equally disagreeable to the people and the king. Gregory XI. who had lately succeeded pope Urban, resolved to improve this misunderstanding between Edward and the monks of Canterbury; and proposed, that Simon Sudbury should be translated from the diocese of London to the see of Canterbury, without paying any regard to the monkish election, which he looked upon as an obstruction to the papal power in England. Edward inadvertently embraced this insidious proposal; and Sudbury, otherwise Tibbald, was consecrated metropolitan, contrary to the inclinations of the people, who had no other objection to his person but the manner in which he was elevated to that dignity. He was succeeded in the see of London by Courtenay, son to the earl of Devonshire, a prelate of uncommon spirit and capacity.

By this time Wicliff began to distinguish himself by his doctrines, under the protection of the duke of Lancaster, who had provided for him in the rectory of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln. He is said to have quarrelled with a monk about the rectorship of Canterbury college in Oxford; his antagonist being supported by the archbishop

Account of
Wicliff.

and the monks of Canterbury, the dispute was appealed to the pope, who decided it against Wicliff, and thenceforward became the object of his implacable revenge. This seems to be no more than a malicious imputation forged by Wicliff's enemies ; for he had avowed his tenets, and even made some profelytes in England before the date of this contention. He maintained that the bread and wine in the eucharist was not the real substance, but only a type of Christ's body : that the church of Rome is not supreme over all other churches : and, that Christ did not give greater power to Peter than to the rest of the apostles : that a lay-patron may lawfully and meritoriously divest a degenerate church of her temporalities : that the gospel is sufficient for regulating the life and morals of every christian : and that all other rules of sanctity add no more perfection to the gospel than whiteness adds to a wall : that neither the pope, nor any christian prelate, ought to punish or confine delinquents ; but that every individual should do whatsoever seemed good in his own eyes, until he is apprehended by the civil magistrate. Wicliff and his followers affected a remarkable austerity in their way of living, which impressed the vulgar with an high opinion of their sanctity ; and the doctrine in favour of lay-patrons was so agreeable to the nobility in general, who wanted to humble the clergy, that he soon numbered a vast multitude of common people, and some of the most powerful lords of the kingdom, among his converts. The pope being informed of his tenets and success, sent a bull, directed to the metropolitan of Canterbury and the bishop of London, requiring them to seize and secure the person of this arch-heretic ; and they, unwilling to proceed at once to extremities, contented themselves with summoning him to a synod convened at St. Paul's in London. Thither he went, accompanied

Biblio-
theque
Angloise.

A. C. 1377.

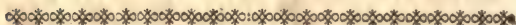
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by his two chief patrons, the duke of Lancaster and the lord Piercy, who insisted upon Wicliff's being seated, although he appeared as a delinquent; and endeavoured to intimidate the bishop of London, by unmanly threats and boisterous language, which excited no passion but contempt in that spirited prelate, who knew he had nothing to fear from their resentment, while he retained his popularity. The lower class of people in London had not yet imbibed the doctrines of Wicliff, whom they were taught to detest as an impious heretic; and being warmly attached to the person of the bishop, they had crowded the streets in such a manner, that the duke of Lancaster could hardly get admittance. When they understood that the dispute began to grow warm between him and the prelate, and were informed that Lancaster had even threatened to pull him out of the church by the hair of the head, they immediately took the alarm, and grew so obstreperous, that the duke and lord Piercy, with their favourite Wicliff, were fain to retreat in a hurry; though the synod inflicted no other punishment but that of imposing silence upon this new apostle.

Fox.
Tytrel.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.
BOOK FOURTH.

From the Death of king EDWARD III. to the
Union of the Two Roses.



RICHARD II.

A. C. 1377.
Richard II.
ascends the
throne of
England.

WHEN Edward III. resigned his breath, his grandson and successor Richard II. had not yet attained the tenth year of his age; and, as his uncle John of Ghent had all the power of England in his hands, he might, in imitation of several princes who had ascended the English throne, have set aside the lineal heir without the least difficulty, had he been really infected with that ambition of reigning which had been fixed as an imputation upon his character. This charge he owed to the resentment of the monks and clergy, who hated him as the protector of Wicliff. He had, moreover, acquired a great number of enemies by the pride, arrogance, and irascibility of his temper; and he was particularly detested by the citizens of London.

don for the vengeance he had taken on account of A. C. 1377. the late insurrection. We can hardly suppose that he was intimidated from pursuing his designs upon the crown by the sense of the nation, which adored the young Richard, both for his personal beauty and accomplishments, and for the sake of his father, whose memory they revered, even to a degree of enthusiasm. The duke of Lancaster was naturally bold and confident; and upon all occasions expressed the utmost contempt for the people: nor, indeed, could he have had any just cause of apprehension from their enmity, while all the places of strength in the kingdom were occupied by his creatures, and all the veteran officers at his devotion.

On the very day of Edward's death, John Philpot, with the principal citizens of London, deputed by the common council, repaired to Kingston upon Thames, where the young king then resided, and implored his favour and protection to the city of London, expressing their concern at his being removed so far from the capital, and assuring him they would venture their lives and fortunes for his service. They concluded their address with a petition, that he would take up his residence in the city, and put a stop to the prosecutions which had been set on foot by the duke of Lancaster. Their request was granted, and all differences compromised by commissioners sent to London for that purpose; and, Richard the very next day made a magnificent entry into London, attended by the dukes of Lancaster and Britany, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, the earls of Marche and Warwick, with many other noblemen. The duke still continued at the head of the administration, and issued out orders for guarding the coast, erecting new beacons at convenient places, for the purpose of giving the alarm in case the kingdom should be invaded, and

*The French
fleet insults
the coasts of
England.*

A. C. 1377. even for arraying the clergy for the defence of their country. These precautions were highly necessary; for the French having equipped a navy, and being reinforced by the fleet of Castile, scoured the channel, landed at Hastings, ravaged the Isle of Wight, and layed the country under grievous contributions. Then they made a fruitless attempt upon Winchelsey, and were prevented from landing at Southampton by the earl of Arundel, who had assembled the militia: they afterwards sent ashore some troops in Suffex, where they defeated and took the prior of Lewes; but they were in their turn repulsed by the abbot of Battel. Nevertheless, they kept the whole coast in alarm, and interrupted commerce in such a degree, that no ship would venture to quit her harbour for fear of falling into the hands of the enemy. While Charles thus asserted the sovereignty of the narrow sea, his arms were equally successful at land. The duke of Burgundy and the marechal Blainville besieged and took the town of Ardres; then they reduced and new fortified Ardwick and Vaucingen, in order to be a check upon the garrison of Calais. Another body of forces, under the command of the duke of Anjou and the marechal Sancerre, was detached into Gascony, where they invested Bergerac, and sent John de Bueil to bring up the artillery from La Reole. Sir Thomas Felton the English governor of Aquitaine, assembling some troops, resolved to intercept the artillery and cut in pieces the detachment; but the duke of Anjou being informed of this design, found means to reinforce De Bueil, who gave battle to the English; and Felton was defeated and taken prisoner.

Froissart.

Richard is
crowned at
Westmin-
ster.

It was in the midst of these hostilities that Richard succeeded to the throne of England, which he ascended without the least opposition; and the ceremony of his coronation was fixed for the sixteenth day

day of July. Mean while he created his favourite A. C. 1377. uncle Thomas of Wodestoke constable of England; during the minority of the earl of Hereford, who was entitled to that office by hereditary right. The duke of Lancaster at the same time layed claim to several offices on the day of coronation, in right of his deceased wife Blanche; as earl of Leicester, he claimed the dignity of lord high-steward of England; as duke of Lancaster, he had a right to carry the sword of state called Curtana; and as earl of Lincoln, to be the king's carver. These pretensions being examined in council, were found just, and allowed accordingly; and then he sat by the king's commission as steward of England, to examine the claims of other noblemen, who pretended right to perform different functions at that solemnity. On the eve of the coronation the king rode with a pompous cavalcade through the streets of London from the Tower to his palace at Westminster. Next day he walked from thence in procession to the abbey-church at Westminster; and, ascending a scaffold erected for that purpose, took the usual oath, which was administered accordingly by the archbishop, who afterwards proceeded to the ceremony of unction and coronation. Then the prelates began to celebrate high-mass, and during that service the king received the homage of all the lay-nobility: divine worship being performed, they returned to the palace, and spent the remainder of the day in feasting and joy. On this occasion the king created his uncle Thomas, earl of Buckingham; Henry lord Piercy, earl of Northumberland; John of Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; and Guichard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdom. The bishops of London and Sarum, the earls of Marche and Arundel, the lords Latimer and Cobham, Roger Beauchamp and Richard Stafford, banerets; John Knyvet, Ralph Ferrers, John Devreux, and Hugh Rymer.
Se-

A. C. 1377. Segrave, knights batchelors, were by the assent and advice of the prelates and lords assembled at this solemnity, appointed with the chancellor and treasurer members of the king's council, at the head of which was John duke of Lancaster, who had hitherto engrossed the whole administration; but, now either disliking these new associates, or thinking it prudent to resign an office which might expose him further to the envy of his contemporaries and the odium of the people, he declined bearing any share in the ministry, and retired to his castle of Kenilworth, after having declared, that in case his assistance should be wanted, he would attend the king, and employ his whole power and influence in promoting his honour and advantage.

Walsing.
Proceedings
in parliament,

A parliament being called about Michaelmas, to concert measures for opposing the progress of the French, the commons would not give their opinions on the subject of their deliberations, without the advice and assistance of the duke of Lancaster, a committee of four bishops, four earls, and as many barons, whom they nominated for that purpose; and the king who was present assented to the proposal. Then the duke falling upon his knees before his majesty, desired he might be excused from assisting at the conference, as the commons had traduced his character, and suspected him of having formed designs which amounted to high-treason. He protested his own innocence in the most solemn manner; and declared, that if any person would openly charge him with high-treason, disloyalty, or any action prejudicial to the realm, he was ready to prove the falsity and malice of the accusation, either in single combat, or in any other manner that the king or lords should direct. The prelates and lords standing up as one man, interrupted him in his harrangue, protesting, they could not imagine any person upon earth would advance such a malicious charge;

charge; and the commons alledged, that in chusing him as the principal counsellor, they had clearly manifested their opinion of his honour. The duke having represented the evil consequences of such reports as might create jealousies between the king and his best subjects, declared, that he forgave the authors of such slander, but expressed a desire that a law should be made against the inventors and propagators of defamation. The commons, considering the situation of the kingdom, and the minority of the king, proposed, that certain persons of unblemished morals and undoubted capacity should be appointed in parliament, as the king's constant counsellors, to act in the administration, with the great officers of the crown, and direct the application of the money granted for the prosecution of the French war. Nine persons were accordingly chosen by the lords, and sworn of the council: their trust was limited to one year, during which they were absolutely prohibited from receiving any grant of lands, rent, escheat, ward, or marriage. The commons likewise petitioned, that the parliament should appoint the servants of his majesty; that the charges of the household should be borne by the revenue of the crown; and, that the supplies granted for the war should be applied for that purpose only. The lords declined joining in this motion, because they thought it unreasonable to place any servants about the king's person but such as he himself should approve: and with regard to the expences of the household they promised to confer with the great officers, and inquire whether or not they might be honourably defrayed by the crown-revenue. The next request of the commons was, that during the king's minority, the chancellor, treasurer, chief-justices, and other officers of the crown, should be appointed by parliament; but this motion was likewise opposed by the lords, who assumed to themselves

A. C. 1377. selves the right of nominating the counsellors, chancellor, and steward of the household, and insisted upon leaving the other officers to the king's choice, with the advice and assent of his council. Notwithstanding this opposition on the part of the lords, the commons voted a considerable supply for the defence of the kingdom, on condition, that the money should be deposited in the hands of two trustees; and John Philpot and William Walworth merchants in London were appointed for that office. Having granted this aid, they thought they had a right to demand that the evil counsellors placed about the late king should be removed, and their posts bestowed upon persons of good morals and integrity. Several officers were displaced in consequence of this petition; but they did not succeed in another, requesting, that a parliament should be convened once a year to regulate the affairs of the nation, and determine those causes about which the judges were divided in their opinions. In this assembly Sir Richard Lescrop steward of the household impeached Alice Perrers for a breach of the ordinance which had been made expressly against her in the last parliament. She was accused of having procured the pardon of Lyons, and an order to revoke the commission of Sir Nicholas Dagworth, who had been appointed to inspect the administration of her own husband William de Windsor, in Ireland. She made no defence, nor did she appear in person or by proxy; the duke of Lancaster, though one of the committee appointed to examine into the affair, condescended to give evidence in this cause. She was condemned to banishment, and all her estate forfeited; but in the next parliament she obtained a revision of the trial and a reversal of the sentence, together with a full pardon to herself and husband. This affair being discussed, the commons made remonstrances against papal usurpation

pation in provisions, the admission of aliens into A. C. 1377.
 benefices, and the commutation of penance for Rot Parl.
 money.

Immediately after this session broke up, the duke of Lancaster, on pretence of taking measures for the defence of the kingdom and annoyance of the enemy, demanded an order from the lords of the council, to withdraw the money from the hands of the two trustees; and his desire being complied with, he engaged in the service nine large ships of Bayonne, with which he attacked a fleet of French merchantmen, and took fourteen vessels laden with wine. At the same time alderman Philpot equipped a small armament at his own expence; and sailing in quest of one Mercer a Scottish mariner, who had greatly interrupted the navigation on the northern coasts of England, engaged and took him, together with fifteen Spanish ships which had entered into his service. This exploit, though universally applauded by the people, gave umbrage to the government; and Philpot was summoned before the council-board, where he received a reprimand for having undertaken such an expedition contrary to law; but in respect of his character, and the service he had done the nation, he was no farther questioned on the subject. The Scots not only committed depredations on the sea, but commenced hostilities at land, notwithstanding a truce which had been lately concluded between the two kingdoms. They found means to surprise the town and castle of Berwick: though this adventure was atchieved by a small number of free-booters, who had no commission from the government of Scotland; and the Scottish earl of Marche offered to assist the earl of Northumberland, in reducing the place under the English dominion. The earl of Northumberland, assembling a body of ten thousand men, marched to Berwick, and summoning the

The Scots
surprise
Berwick.

A. C. 1378. the castle to surrender, Ramsay who commanded the garrison, answered, that the place had been taken by virtue of a commission from the king of France, in whose name he would defend it to the last extremity. An assault was immediately given; and the place being taken, every Scot was put to the sword. The earl, suspecting that the Scottish ministry connived at Ramsay's adventure, resolved to chastise them for their insincerity; and being joined by the earl of Nottingham, the lords Lacy, Neville, and Stratford, he began his march towards Melrofs. Sir Thomas Musgrave, being detached with six hundred men to reconnoitre the country, fell into an ambush layed by the earl of Douglas, who routed and took him prisoner, and guarded the passes in such a manner, that Piercy thought proper to desist from his enterprize, and return to England.

Rymer.

The duke
of Lancaster
invades
Brittany.

During these petty operations in the North the duke of Lancaster was employed in making great preparations for invading the dominions of the French king, who had by this time reduced all the places belonging to the king of Navarre in Normandy, except Cherbourg, which was defended by an English garrison. Charles of France had detected a plot, in which the king of Navarre had contrived to poison him. A domestic belonging to that prince, in the service of his two sons, who resided as hostages in Paris, was employed to be perpetrator of this scheme, and being apprehended, at once confessed the particulars: the secretary of the king of Navarre, being afterwards taken and put to the torture, confirmed the other's confession, and both were executed as traitors. The king of Navarre was stripped of Normandy, and all the dominions he held of France; and the king of Castile fell upon Navarre, where he gained several considerable advantages. The duke of Lancaster having provided

his

his fleet and forces, set sail about the end of July A. C. 1378. for St. Malo, which was then in possession of the French, and took or destroyed a fleet of French and Spanish vessels, lying laden with wine and other commodities in the harbour : then landing his forces he invested the city, which was defended by a brave officer, at the head of a numerous garrison. The constable of France being then in Brittany, advanced with sixteen thousand choice troops, and encamped within sight of the English, from whom he was divided by a rivulet. The duke of Lancaster endeavoured to provoke him to battle ; which he studiously avoided, in obedience to the order he had received ; but he posted himself in such a manner, that the besiegers could not carry on their assaults without a dangerous interruption from his army, which he kept always in readiness to seize every advantage. At length the garrison made a furious sally, in which they destroyed the works, and killed a great number of the besiegers ; a disaster which the duke imputed to the want of vigilance and conduct in the earl of Arundel, who commanded that night in the trenches. The English being dispirited by this check, as well as by the vivacity of the constable, by whom they were incessantly harassed, and the winter approaching, it was resolved, in a council of war, that the troops should be reembarked ; and the French allowed them to retire without molestation.

H. de BreTAG.

While the duke of Lancaster was engaged in this fruitless expedition, the reigning king of Castile blocked up the harbour of Bayonne, with a fleet of two hundred vessels, and landing twenty thousand men invested the city, in revenge for the assistance it had lately given to the English ; but the king of Portugal threatening to invade Castile, the season of the year being pretty far advanced, an epidemical disease having broke out among the Castilian troops,

*Progress of
the French
in Brittany
and Gui-
enac.*

A. C. 1378. troops, and the citizens making a gallant defence; he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and return to his own dominions. In Normandy the duke of Berry undertook the siege of Cherbourg, defended by Sir Robert Rouse, who compelled him to raise it with disgrace and damage; after having taken Oliver du Guesclin, brother to the constable of France, while he reconnoitred the avenues at the head of a considerable detachment. Rouse was afterwards recalled to England, and the command of Cherbourg given to Sir Robert Harleston, a gallant officer, who had the good fortune to rout and cut in pieces a body of French troops, which he encountered in one of his excursions.

Remarkable
adventure of
the count of
Denia.

The miscarriage of the expedition to Brittany, which had cost the nation so much treasure, augmented the hatred of the people towards the duke of Lancaster, whom they considered as the author of all these ruinous measures. The Londoners were his inveterate foes; and their enmity had been lately inflamed by an incident in which he was principally concerned. The count of Denia, a Spanish nobleman, taken at the battle of Najara, had been permitted to return to his own country, on leaving his eldest son as hostage for his ransom. The father happening to die before the money was remitted, and the duke of Lancaster, who had pretensions to the crown of Castile, being desirous of making a friend of the young count, who had great interest in that kingdom, procured an order for his being released without ransom. Hawley and Shakel, the two gentlemen who had taken the father in battle, being informed of the duke's intention, represented to the young Castilian the injury they should sustain by his release. He was so well convinced by their arguments, that he resolved to sacrifice his liberty to his honour, and immediately

ately disappeared. Several persons were confined in the Tower, on suspicion of having been accessory to his escape; and at length a warrant was granted against Hawley and Shakel, who took refuge in Westminster-abbey, from whence they could not be drawn, either by threats or intreaties. The king, at his uncle's request, ordered Sir Allan de Boxhul, with fifty men, to bring them out by force; and though he found them at divine service, he commanded his followers to drag them from the altar. Hawley and his servant were killed, after having made a gallant defence; and a priest who espoused his quarrel shared the same fate, while Shakel was taken alive and carried to the Tower. Such violation of a sanctuary was deemed an inexpressible offence; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with five of his suffragans, excommunicated the perpetrators. A terrible clamour was raised against the duke of Lancaster, as the contriver of this impious sacrilege: nevertheless he persisted in his design, and persuaded the king to propose to Shakel, that if he would produce his prisoner he should have five hundred marks in ready money, and enjoy a pension of one hundred for life. Shakel complied with this proposal; and then it appeared, to the astonishment of every body, that the young count served his keeper in the disguise of a page.

Rymer,
Walsing.

The citizens of London had another additional motive of resentment against the duke of Lancaster, who was supposed to have prevailed upon the king to summon the ensuing parliament to meet at Gloucester, with a view to mortify the city of London. The members being there assembled on the twentieth day of October, Richard Lescrop, steward of the household, opened the session with a speech, representing the danger to which the nation was exposed from the enemies that surrounded it, and the considerable supplies necessary to secure Calais;

Proceedings
of the par-
liament at
Gloucester.

A. C. 1378.

and Brest, which, by a treaty with the duke of Bretagne, was deposited in the hands of the English, as well as Cherbourg; and for the defence of Bourdeaux and Bayonne, which were threatened by the duke of Anjou and the king of Castile. The commons suspecting that part of the late subsidies had been embezzled, or converted to other uses than those for which they were granted, insisted upon knowing in what manner those sums had been expended, and who were intended to fill the great offices of state for the ensuing year, according to the ordinance of the last parliament. Lescrop answered, in the king's name, that although no account of subsidies or other grants had ever been made to the commons, William Walworth, in conjunction with some members of the council, should lay before them an account of the receipts and disbursements; but that such condescension should not be drawn into precedent. He told them, that the officers of state had been chosen by the advice of the lords, and the king would appoint the privy counsellors according to his own judgment; but if the commons found any thing defective either in the laws or the administration, they might represent it in the usual form of petition; and their grievances should be redressed. Then they desired a copy of the enrolment of the last subsidy, that they might deliberate upon the subject; and this request being granted as a special favour, they took exceptions to the sum of six and forty thousand pounds expended upon fortresses abroad, which they alledged ought to have been maintained out of the king's own revenue and patrimonial estate. After these deliberations, the parliament granted a considerable aid on wool and leather, besides an additional duty upon merchandize for one year; but this was in the next session revoked, and in lieu of it, a poll-tax layed upon all orders of men throughout the kingdom. The

Ret. Parl.

The nation was now animated with the keenest resentment against France, which had presumed to insult her late conquerors. An English fleet from Rye and Winchelsey scoured the channel in their turn, and even made descents upon the coast of Normandy, where they took and plundered the towns of Port St. Pierre and Willet, and raised contributions on the adjacent country. Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, pillaged the great fair at Stapal, burned the suburbs of St. Omer, and surprised a great convoy of provision and ammunition, designed for the town of Ardres. This gallant officer was recalled from his government, and together with Sir Thomas Piercy, created admiral of England, in which station he acted with his usual vigilance, bravery, and conduct, so as to interrupt the enemy's trade; while the earl of Salisbury, who succeeded him in the government of Calais, took every opportunity of harrassing the French by land. By this time the important fortress of Auray, the last inland place possessed by the duke of Brittany, was reduced by the French forces; so that after having consigned Brest to Richard, in exchange for an estate in England, he had abandoned his own country, and become altogether a British subject. Charles king of France having made himself master of the whole dutchy, except the town of Brest, which he had in vain attempted to reduce, resolved to confiscate the whole province, and re-annex it to the dominion of France. For this purpose he summoned all the peers to attend the parliament at Paris, where, by a solemn decree, John de Montfort was pronounced a traitor, and the dutchy of Bretagne forfeited, and re-united to the crown of France.

A. C. 1378.
The king of France confiscates Brittany;

A. C. 1379:

and declares the duke a traitor.

This sentence was extremely disagreeable even to those lords of Brittany who had been hitherto attached to the interest of Charles. He had not con-

The nobility of Bretagne disgusted at the French king;

A. C. 1379. fulted them on this occasion; and when he afterwards sent for them to court, and tried to cajole them with promises of favour; they loudly complained of his having proceeded to such extremities without their concurrence, refused to put his troops in possession of their castles, for the defence of the country against the attempts of the English and Montfort, and retiring to Brittany, engaged in associations to maintain their liberties against all encroachment. They even renounced all dependence upon the crown of France, and sent a deputation to England, inviting their duke to return to his own dominions, where they would support him with their lives and fortunes. John could not help distrusting the sincerity of this profession made by people who had so long acted as his open enemies; and dismissed the deputies, with a general promise of crossing the sea with the first favourable opportunity. Before they returned the king of France had sent commissaries into Bretagne to execute the sentence of confiscation; and at the same time letters-patent were published, confirming all the privileges of the nobility. But even this indulgence could not induce them to submit; and the French government was so odious to the people, that the commissaries, being denied admittance into Nantes and other places, were obliged to return to Anjou, without having executed their commission. A war being the immediate consequence of this opposition; the estates of Brittany sent a solemn invitation in writing, under the seals of the principal nobility, to the duke, pressing him to return without delay; and assuring him, that all the barons and the most considerable towns of the province would declare for him at his landing. John, at length convinced of their attachment, embarked at Southampton, with Sir Robert Knolles and a small body of troops; and landing at Solidor, in the neighbourhood of St. Malo, was received with joyful acclamation. Dinan,

invite their
duke to re-
turn to his
dominions.

nan, Rennes, and Vannes, opened their gates to their sovereign: he was joined by almost the whole noblesse of the province; the Bretons in the French service deserted to him in such numbers, that Charles dismissed all that remained, because he could not depend upon their fidelity. By these the duke's army was considerably reinforced: towns and fortresses daily declared in his favour; nor could the forces under the duke of Bourbon and constable Du Guesclin prevent this almost universal defection. In this emergency the duke of Anjou, advancing to the frontiers of Brittany, endeavoured to conciliate the affection of the natives, by promises of favour and professions of good-will; and a negotiation was set on foot, but France still insisting upon Brittany's being united to the crown, the conferences proved ineffectual.

The constable advised the king of France to pardon the duke of Bretagne, and detach him by dint of kind offices from his dependence upon England. In that case he might engage the hardy soldiers of that province in his service, and employ his whole force in the reduction of Guienne, where the English had lately retaken several places of importance. Charles was inclined to follow this advice; but in the mean time he sent Guesclin with an army to check the progress of the English in that province. He undertook the siege of Chateaufort, which was gallantly defended; and in the course of the operations he fell sick and died, just when the garrison was on the point of demanding a capitulation. The French king had, by means of this great officer, begun to tamper with Montfort, who was not averse to an accommodation; but the death of the constable, and the duke's expectation of succours from England, rendered the treaty abortive. A considerable armament was actually intended for his assistance: but, a war breaking out between the

Death of the
constable
Guesclin.

A. C. 1379. count of Flanders and his subjects, the Flemings did not purchase such quantities of wool as they used to employ; so that the subsidy granted upon that commodity fell short of expectation, and the number of troops destined for Brittany was curtailed. Nevertheless, Sir John Arundel set sail in December for that dutchy with a body of forces; but, being overtaken by a storm, his fleet was dispersed and he himself perished. Such was the distress of the government, that the king was obliged to pawn his jewels to raise money for this purpose, though no provision was made for paying the gar-risons of Cherbourg, Calais, and the borders of Scotland.

Walsing.
Froissart.

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

To remove these necessities, and provide for the expence of the ensuing campaign, a parliament was called at Westminster, and the session opened by a speech from the chancellor, who encouraged the commons to explain their grievances; and gave them to understand that the king had ordered his great officers and others of his council to lay before them an account of the money received from the last subsidy, and of the manner in which had been disbursed. The commons, impatient under their burthen some taxes, and disliking the conduct and oeconomy of the council, moved that the king might be of age, and take upon himself the administration, under the direction of the chancellor, treasurer, privy-seal, chamberlain, and steward of the household, who should be appointed by parliament. Though this request was denied, they obtained a renewal of a commission, which in the last session had been granted to several prelates and noblemen, empowering them to examine into the state of the revenue, the expences of the king's household, the management of the war, and the conduct of officers. John Imperiale the Genoese ambassador having been murdered in the streets of

Lon-

London, both houses joined in declaring the perpetrators guilty of high-treason. The power of justices of the peace was lodged in a new commission: a statute was enacted against papal provisions, in consequence of the rapacious conduct of pope Urban, who had lately bestowed the archdeaconry of Bath upon the cardinal of Cisteron, a professed enemy of the English, gratified another with the priory of Deerhurst, and granted a great number of provisions to foreigners, in violation of the agreement between the late king and this pontiff's predecessor. After having made these regulations, the parliament voted a considerable aid, and continued the subsidy on wool for a year longer.

A. C. 1380.

Rot. Parl.

These supplies, together with a tenth given by the clergy, enabled the ministers to equip a new armament for the assistance of the duke of Brittany. Thomas of Wodestoke earl of Buckingham was appointed commander in chief of the army, which consisted of three thousand archers, as many men at arms with their followers, and a numerous body of infantry. He was accompanied by the lord Bassett, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir John Harleston, Sir Robert Knowles, Sir William de Windsor, and a great number of young gentlemen, who sought an opportunity to distinguish themselves in the service. As the ships were not sufficient to transport such a numerous army with its necessaries at once, the general could not sail directly for Bretagne; but was obliged to waft over the troops at different times from Dover and Sandwich to Calais: and this method, together with some other unaccountable delays in the ministry, detained the soldiers so long upon the coast, that numbers were obliged to pawn their arms for subsistence. This evil however was remedied by the zeal of some London merchants, and John Philpot in particular, who not only paid the debts of the soldiery, and

The earl of
Buckingham
marches
from Calais
into Brit-
tany.

A. C. 1380. redeemed their arms, but also hired transports to convey them to the continent. The earl of Buckingham landing at Calais in the latter end of July, tarried a few days until his army was refreshed; and then began his march for Brittany. He met with no opposition in his progress, tho' the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon were posted with a strong body of forces at Troyes. He proposed to attack them in their entrenchments; but they, being unwilling to stand an attack, retired within the walls of the city. Buckingham, having attempted in vain, to provoke them to a general engagement, continued his march through Sens, from whence he proceeded through the Gatinois and Beauce into Le Maine; and passed the Sarthe on the sixteenth day of September, remarkable for the death of Charles V. king of France. That prince had lately by his emissaries excited the jealousy and ancient prejudice of the Bretons against the English, whom they represented as cruel usurpers who wanted to make a conquest of their country; so that the natives looked upon them with abhorrence, and the citizens of Nantes denied them admittance. John de Montfort, dreading the consequence of this animosity, and believing it would be no difficult task to effect an advantageous accommodation with the ministry of the young French monarch, as yet a minor, was not a little perplexed in his mind with regard to his auxiliaries, and hesitated some time between gratitude and convenience. In this irresolution he continued, until the English had entered his dominions, and advanced to Chateaubourg, between Vitré and Rennes, where the earl of Buckingham received a solemn deputation of his nobility, who assured him their duke would meet him at Rennes; and excused his not having waited upon him sooner, by representing the ill humour of his subjects, with whom he was obliged to keep measures. This was actually

ally the case; for, when the earl arrived at Rennes, he and a few of his attendants only were suffered to enter the place; nor did the duke as yet appear. He met him however at Mezieres, and frankly owned himself restricted by the malevolence and disaffection of his people, over whom he had no influence. He professed the deepest sense of obligation to the court of England, and vowed eternal attachment to the interest of a country which had afforded him an asylum in his distress; but his authority was not established, his people were averse to the English, while his nobility pressed him to send them home immediately, and compromise his difference with the crown of France. Mean while, as Nantes had openly declared against the English, the earl proposed to undertake the siege of that important city, and the duke promised upon oath to supply him with provisions, and join him in a fortnight. The place was accordingly invested; but, being strongly fortified and provided with a numerous garrison, the besiegers made but very little progress, and lay before it two whole months without being joined by the duke. He had indeed endeavoured to raise forces for this purpose, but no body would repair to his standard; and the nobility gave him to understand, that if he should presume to join the enemies of his country, they would rise up in arms against him: whereas they would serve him with all their power in effecting an accommodation with France. He was obliged to submit to this proposal, and abandon the earl of Buckingham, who seeing no prospect of reducing Nantes, and finding himself hampered for want of provisions, by the activity of the Bretons, who generally intercepted his convoys, raised the siege during the Christmas holidays, and marched to Vannes, where, by the duke's influence he was hospitably received, and provided with convenient quarters in that neighbourhood.

A. C. 1380. bourhood. Mean while a treaty was brought on the carpet at Paris, for an accommodation between Montfort and the king of France. This being concluded and ratified, the duke consented to do homage to the French king, and was reinstated in his dutchy of Bretagne and county of Montfort. This agreement was in all probability forwarded by a design of the earl of Buckingham to bring another army in the spring from England, as the treaty itself was managed without his knowledge. Though incensed at the clandestine conduct of the earl, he did not think proper to manifest his resentment in any violent measures; but being supplied with transports by him, he embarked his army, and on the eleventh day of April set sail for England.

P. Daniel.
Walsing.

Famous
poll-tax.

While the earl of Buckingham was employed in this fruitless expedition, the Scots made irruptions into the northern counties, which they ravaged with fire and sword; and the earl of Northumberland, as warden of the Marches, began to assemble his forces to oppose the invaders; but quarrelling with the inhabitants of Hull and Newcastle, about a rich prize they had taken from the Scots at sea, they thwarted his measures in such a manner, that he could not collect a body of troops sufficient to engage the enemy; and he received orders from the ministry, commanding him to observe the truce with the utmost punctuality. The Scots were so far from acting with such scrupulous regard to good faith, that they invaded Westmoreland and Cumberland, to the number of twenty thousand, commanded by earl Douglas, who surprised Penrith, wasted the country, and returned to Scotland with an immense booty; while the hands of the warden were tied up, by a fresh order to avoid hostilities, until matters could be amicably compromised. The duke of Lancaster is said to have been the author of these inglorious measures, that the king's arms might

might be more disengaged and at liberty to assist him in his scheme upon the crown of Castile. This conjecture seems to be confirmed by his subsequent conduct; for, when he himself marched to the North, at the head of a numerous army, towards the end of summer, instead of chastising the enemy, he proposed conferences for a peace. These were opened accordingly; and a truce being concluded for three years, he disbanded his forces, and returned to the southern parts of the kingdom. While he was absent upon this expedition, the parliament met at Northampton; and, having deliberated upon the state of the nation, found that the debts incurred by the king, since the last subsidy, amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. The commons desired the prelates and lords to consider in what manner the necessary sum could be raised with the least inconvenience to the people; and, after due deliberation, they proposed a tallage on every person, male and female, above the age of fifteen. This proposal was approved; and the parliament established a poll tax of three groats upon every person in the realm, to be levied on each town by collectors appointed for that purpose. The more substantial people were enjoined to assist the poorer sort, according to the value of their estates; and the product of the tax was appropriated to the payment of arrears due to the army of the earl of Buckingham, the equipment of a fleet, and the defence of the kingdom.

This imposition gave birth to those commotions which had like to have destroyed the English constitution. The copy-holders and land-tenants in villenage, belonging to the church as well as to lay-lords, had become wealthy, and, for some time past, made divers efforts to recover that freedom to which they thought they had a natural title. They purchased exemptions in the king's court

State of the
tenants in
villenage.

A. C. 1381. court out of doomsday-book, of the manors and towns to which they belonged, exempting them from all manner of servitude; and would not suffer distress to be taken, either by the servants of their lords, or the officers of justice: they engaged in associations to stand by one another, and even threatened their landlords with death and desolation. The commons had, in the first parliament of this reign, complained of these rebellious proceedings, by which their property was alienated, their manors were ruined, and the peace of the nation endangered: a statute was enacted, declaring those exemptions of no validity, and ordering enquiry to be made after such associators and rebels, that they might be tried and brought to condign punishment. This law for some time suppressed their insolence; though the late taxes, which fell chiefly upon the lower tenants, served to nourish their discontent; and these were fomented by seditious preachers, who asserted in their sermons, that by nature all men are equal; that servitude was an unjust oppression, contrary to the will of God; and that it was their duty to shake off the yoke, and maintain their birth-right. The minds of the vulgar were thus prepared for mischief, when the manner of collecting the poll-tax provoked them to open revolt and insurrection. The king's necessities being so importunate, that he could not wait until the money should be collected; he farmed the tax to a set of rapacious persons, who committed numberless acts of oppression, which drove the people to despair; and the ministers of sedition did not fail to inflame their passions of indignation and revenge.

The insurrection began in Essex, where a report was industriously spread, implying, that the copyholders and peasants were doomed to death; that their houses would be burned, and their farms plundered. The country people, alarmed at this intelligence,

Insurrection
in Kent
and Essex.

telligence, rose in their own defence, arming themselves with clubs, bows, swords, and halberds; and assembling to the number of five thousand, sent deputies across the river into Kent, desiring the inhabitants of that county to join them in the common cause of liberty, that they might reform the state, and abolish taxes. This deputation was sent in consequence of an incident, which had already produced a tumult among the Kentishmen. One of the persons employed in collecting the poll-tax had entered into a dispute with a plebeian, known by the name of Wat Tyler, who refused to pay for his daughter, on pretence of her being under the age mentioned in the act of parliament. The brutal collector insisted upon her being a full grown woman; and, in order to ascertain his conjecture, proceeded to acts of indecency, which provoked the father to such a degree, that he slew the tax-gatherer upon the spot. His cause was immediately espoused by all the populace in the neighbourhood, who, encouraged by the example of their friends in Essex, took to their arms; and the spirit of mutiny spread like a contagion, through Suffex, Surry, Hertfordshire, and all the counties which formed the old kingdom of the East Angles. Not only the discontented peasants, but all the debauched, profligate, and desperate villains, in these counties, took the field upon this occasion; and every separate multitude chose a leader of approved capacity. The people of condition neglected them at first, as mobs that would in a little time disperse of themselves; but they soon became too formidable to be quelled by the civil power. They pulled down the houses of the nobility and gentry, inflicted immediate death upon all the justices and practitioners of the law that fell into their hands: they burned all court-rolls and records; and obliged all persons to swear they would be true to king Richard, admit

A. C. 1381. mit no king called John, and join with them in opposing taxes. At length Wat Tyler, at the head of the Kentish insurgents, joined those of Essex, commanded by Jack Straw; and, on the twelfth day of June advanced to Blackheath, to the number of an hundred thousand, with banners displayed. The king sending thither messengers to know the reason of their insurrection, they gave him to understand, that they were come to speak to him about certain important affairs; and desired he would come and hear what they had to propose. Richard being advised to comply with their demand, actually crossed the Thames to give them that satisfaction; but, when they saw him approaching, they began to run towards the river, in order to intercept his retreat: so that Simon Sudbury archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, grand prior of the Knights hospitallers, treasurer of England, hurried him back to the Tower with all expedition. The rebels, disappointed of their prize, called aloud, Treason! treason! Then running towards the bridge, entered the city, where they plundered several houses, and murdered some Flemish merchants. Next day, being joined by the populace of the city, they attacked the palace of the Savoy, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, which they burned and levelled to the ground, after having destroyed all the rich furniture, and broke in pieces vast quantities of plate and jewels. Thence they proceeded to the Temple, where they burned all the books, papers, and records; and having demolished the buildings, repaired to the priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, which they treated in the same manner. These exploits being performed, they divided themselves into three bodies; one of which took the route to Heybury, where they pillaged and reduced to ashes a magnificent house belonging to the knights of St. John; a second, consisting chiefly of the people of Es-

Essex and Hertfordshire, posted themselves on Mile-End-Green; the third took possession of St. Catharine's and Tower-Hill. Those who took up their quarters at Mile-End, sent a message to the king, desiring to see him immediately, otherwise they would pull down the Tower, and put him to death without mercy: and their companions on Tower-Hill intercepted the provisions intended for the use of his majesty, demanding aloud the heads of the chancellor and treasurer. The archers and men at arms in the Tower, were sufficient to have defended it against such an undisciplined and ill-armed multitude, had they acted with becoming spirit and resolution; but they were seized with such a panic, that they could not even manage their arms; and Richard, afraid of exasperating the insurgents, by refusing to comply with their request, rode out with a few attendants to expostulate with them at Mile-End, where he accosted them with great affability, telling them he was their king; and desiring to know their grievances, that they might be immediately redressed. They presented him with a paper of demands, and told him that he should be detained until they were granted under the great seal. These were, an exemption of all persons throughout the realm from bondage and servitude; free liberty of buying and selling in cities, boroughs, market towns, and all places whatsoever; the reduction of the rent of lands held in villenage to four pence an acre; and a general pardon for all offences. The king granted their request, on condition that they would return immediately to their own habitations, and leave two or three of each parish to receive the charters of freedom, which were immediately drawn up, and sealed next morning. These being delivered, the peasants of Essex and Hertfordshire immediately dispersed. Richard had no sooner quitted the Tower, than the
body

A. C. 1381. body posted in the neighbouring avenues rushed in, without finding the least opposition : they forthwith beheaded the archbishop and Sir Robert Hales, massacred fifteen other persons in cool blood, and treated the king's mother with the utmost indignity ; while the cowardly knights and their men at arms stood inactive, without daring to oppose such a brutal outrage.

The substantial citizens of London now began to recollect themselves from their consternation ; and Walworth, who happened to be mayor, being seconded by the gallant Philpot, persuaded them to take arms in defence of their sovereign. Mean while the king sent a message to Wat Tyler, offering him and his people the same charters which had satisfied the men of Essex ; but this savage plebeian being fleshed in blood, and intoxicated with his power and success, had formed the design of murdering the king and all the nobles, and erecting a despotism on the ruins of the constitution : he therefore made no other reply to the king's messenger, but that he would consent to a peace provided he liked the terms ; and three successive charters were sent him, and rejected, in the compass of a few hours. At length, Richard riding towards Smithfield, invited him to a conference, that he might know and remove his objections ; and he began to move towards that place with his followers, but so slowly, that Sir John Newton, who delivered the message, told him the king was waiting for him, and desired him to mend his pace. This proud demagogue took umbrage at the freedom of his remonstrance, and replied he might make what haste he would ; but, for his own part, he would move as he himself should think proper. When he approached the king, he did not offer to alight ; and, Sir John Newton blaming the indecency of his behaviour, he drew his dagger to stab him for his pre-

presumption. Newton drawing his weapon in his own defence, the king interposed, and ordered Sir John to deliver up his dagger to Tyler, who, notwithstanding all his insolence and brutality, seemed disconcerted by the presence of his prince. In all probability, his intention was to plunge the dagger into Richard's heart; he eyed his sovereign with a gloomy aspect; his hand began to shake, and his countenance denoted distraction. His demands were so extravagant, and made in such unconnected phrase, that Richard neither perfectly understood his meaning, nor would he give assent to his proposal. The intention of both was to amuse each other: for Tyler expected a reinforcement next day from Hertfordshire; and the king knew that Sir Robert Knolles was on his march at the head of a thousand veterans, coming to his assistance. Nevertheless, the insolent plebeian could not brook a refusal; and thinking perhaps this was a proper opportunity to strike the blow he had meditated, he lifted up the dagger, as if he intended to plunge it in the bosom of his sovereign; when Walworth, perceiving his drift, rode up and stunned him with a blow of his mace: Philpot finished his fate, by thrusting his sword through the ruffian's body: so that he fell dead from his horse. His followers seeing him drop, exclaimed, "Our captain is slain; let us revenge his death:" and bent their bows for that purpose. But the king, though not quite sixteen years of age, rode up to them with admirable courage and presence of mind, saying, "What would you have, my lieges? Give yourselves no concern about the death of that traitor. I am your captain: follow me, and I will grant you all your reasonable desires." They were so confounded at the death of their leader, and the magnanimity of their prince, that they durst not venture to let fly their arrows, but followed him as

Death of
Wat Tyler.

A. C. 1381. it were mechanically, into the fields of Islington. Before they could recollect themselves, Sir Robert Knolles appeared with his band of veterans, and some thousands of Londoners, who took to their arms under Walworth, immediately after the death of Tyler. The sight of these troops completed the dejection of the insurgents; and the king offering them a general pardon, and the same kind of charter he had already granted to their companions, they fell down on their knees, and submitted. Sir Robert Knolles, and other officers that were about the king's person, proposed that some hundreds of them should be put to the sword in terrorem; but, as many persons had been compelled to join them, he would not suffer that example to be made, lest the innocent should be confounded with the guilty; yet he ordered proclamation to be made, that none of them should be admitted within the walls of the city. Next day, however, they received their charter of enfranchisement, and returned to their respective habitations.

Insurrection
in different
parts of the
country.

A fresh body of mutineers from Hertfordshire was in full march to join Tyler when they received the news of his death, and the dispersion of their confederates. Nevertheless they still kept together, and extorted letters of manumission from the monastery of St. Alban's, and other lords to whom they owed vassalage; some of whom they murdered. They likewise compelled the abbot and convent to deliver up all their charters and privileges, which they committed to the flames in the market-place. They even pleaded the royal authority for the outrages they committed, until the king published a proclamation, commanding all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers of the peace, to suppress these commotions. The rest of the kingdom was not free from the same kind of insurrections. The peasants of Suffolk thinking they

they had as good a title to liberty as those of Kent and Essex, took to their arms, and struck off the head of Sir John Cavendish, lord chief-justice of England: they likewise murdered two monks belonging to the convent of St. Edmundsbury, which they robbed of all its charters; while those of Norfolk rose under the conduct of one known by the name of John Littefter, or the Dyer, who affected great state, and compelled all the freeholders of the county to countenance his proceedings. He ordered his followers to beat out the brains of Sir Robert Sale, who had presumed to censure his conduct; and obliged Sir William Morley and Sir John Brewes, to set out for the court, in order to introduce three of his followers as deputies to his majesty. These had instructions to solicit an ample charter of liberties, and to present the king with a large sum of money, which they had extorted from the city of Norwich. In their journey to London they were met by Henry Spenser, the warlike bishop of Norwich, who, being informed of their errand, ordered them to be beheaded without ceremony. Being afterwards joined by some gentlemen of the county and their adherents, he advanced against the insurgents, who lay at North Walsham, and was the first man who entered their entrenchments sword in hand: the rebels fought for some time with great fury; but were at length routed by the martial prelate, and a great number was slain in the pursuit. The Dyer and his principal accomplices being taken, were hanged and quartered; and the quiet of the country was soon re-established. After this victory the bishop marched into the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, where he reduced all the mutinous peasants to their duty, and then entering Suffolk, dissipated the rebels of that county, who had put to death a great number of

A.C. 1381. practitioners of the law, and committed terrible ravages.

The insurgents defeated and quelled.

Notwithstanding these repeated overthrows and executions, the insurgents of Essex had the presumption to send deputies to the king for a confirmation of their charter: but by this time Richard was in a condition to treat with them as they deserved. Immediately after the dispersion of Tyler's adherents he had assembled his military tenants, and summoned his faithful subjects to take arms for the security of his person; and in three days he mustered forty thousand men on Blackheath. On the thirtieth day of June he published a proclamation, requiring all tenants to do their accustomed services; and sending a detachment of troops into the heart of Kent, to maintain the peace of that county, marched in person against the rebels of Essex, who being defeated in two successive engagements at Billerecay and Sudbury, submitted, and sued for mercy. During this expedition the king being at Chelmsford, issued letters-patent revoking the charters he had granted to the insurgents of Kent and Essex, alledging, that they had forfeited all title to such indulgence by their subsequent rebellion.

Walsing.
Froissart.
Rymer.
Knyghton.

The ring-leaders tried and punished.

Richard having totally quelled all the insurrections, during which above seven thousand persons had lost their lives in different parts of the country, he granted commissions for trying the ring-leaders of those rebellious peasants; and among the rest one John Bull, a fanatic priest, who acted as principal incendiary, and even from the first manifestation of their discontent, spirited them up to mischief and revolt, by inflammatory sermons and circular letters, couched in quaint mysterious rhymes, admirably calculated to work up the minds of ignorant ruffians to fury and enthusiasm. When they first assembled

A.C. 1381

asssembled at Blackheath, he exhorted them in a sermon to be stout in asserting their liberty, which could not be secured without killing all the great men of the kingdom, the lawyers, justices, and jurymen; and then there would be equal freedom, rank, and power, among all persons. This wretched fanatic, together with Jack Straw, and the other chieftains that were taken, being tried and convicted of treason, owned before execution, that when they insisted upon the king's coming to them at Blackheath, their design was to have slain all his attendants, and carried himself in person round the kingdom, as a sanction to their proceedings, until they should have been joined by the people in all the different counties: then they would have suddenly massacred all the nobility and knights, who either by their advice or personal valour were capable of opposing their progress; and lastly, they would have sacrificed the king, the bishops, and all the clergy, except the mendicant friars, who should have been allowed a comfortable subsistence, for confessing and celebrating divine service throughout the kingdom. After having destroyed the form of religion and government, they proposed to enact new laws, create Wat Tyler king of Kent, and set up a monarch for every county. As for that pretender to the throne of Kent, he had determined to burn and plunder the city of London, and divide the spoil among his followers, when his execrable purpose was prevented by the spirit of Walworth and Philpot, who, together with alderman Bembre and Laud, were knighted and recompenced with lands for the services they had performed in extinguishing this dangerous rebellion.

During these commotions the duke of Lancaster was in the North, managing the treaty with the Scots, who, in consideration thereof, had forbore taking advantage of the troubles in England.

The charter of freedom granted to the villains are revoked in parliament.

A. C. 1381. While this negotiation was on the carpet, a quarrel had happened between the duke and the earl of Northumberland, which last had refused the other admittance into Berwick; and now both came, with their followers in arms, to the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the sixteenth day of September, to take measures for quieting the minds of the people, which were still in agitation: the session, however, was prorogued to the fourth day of November; and in the mean time the difference between those two great noblemen was compromised. The members of both houses being convened, the king gave them to understand, that he had been obliged to grant letters of freedom and manumission to the peasants, in order to avoid mischief; and that he had since revoked them by the advice of his council, as charters extorted by compulsion, contrary to reason, law, justice, and the rights and privileges of the prelates, lords, and freeholders of the realm: he desired, however, to know their sentiments on the subject, according to which they should either be repealed or confirmed. The lords and commons unanimously resolved, that such charters obtained by violence, were contrary to law, injurious to the nobility, and destructive to the kingdom; for which reasons they were declared null and void, and repealed by authority of parliament. Then the commons proceeded to an enquiry about the causes of the late commotion, and having deliberated upon the subject, imputed it chiefly to the oppression exercised over the peasants by the king's officers and the courts of law, which encouraged suits and quarrels in the country. The king appointed a committee of prelates and lords to inspect the conduct of such officers, that the grievance might be redressed: all persons whose writings and vouchers had been burned by the insurgents, were invited to come and produce proof before

A. C. 1381.

before the king's council, that they might receive exemplifications without trouble or expence. The next object of their consideration was the necessity of publishing pardons for those lords and gentlemen, who, in opposing the rebels had committed illegal actions, as well as for the towns, boroughs, and country people who had been concerned in the insurrection. From this last act of amnesty the ringleaders of the insurgents were nominally accepted, together with the town of St. Edmundsbury, the inhabitants of which were concerned in the murder of the chancellor, treasurer, and chief-justice; and those of Cambridge who had plundered Bennet college, carried away all the charters of the university, extorted bonds from the masters and scholars, and committed divers other enormities, by the connivance of the magistrates. Their franchises were therefore forfeited, some of their privileges granted to the university, and the rest restored to the town, upon the submission of the inhabitants. These clauses being settled, the commons eagerly desired they might be passed into a law; observing at the same time, that considering the ill humour of the people, they could not venture to grant any sort of talliage. But the king refused to comply with their request until they should have made some provision for the necessities of the state; then they voted a subsidy on wool and leather, and the pardons passing the great seal, the parliament was adjourned to the twenty-fourth day of January.

Rot. Parl.

Two successive treaties had been brought upon the carpet for the marriage of Richard, first with Catherine daughter of Barnaby Visconti duke of Milan, and afterwards with Catherine daughter of the late emperor Lewis; but both these proving abortive, a match was at length concluded between him and Anne, sister of the emperor Winceslaus

Marriage of
Richard.

A. C. 1331. king of Bohemia; a lady whose high rank seems to have been considered as a sufficient compensation for her want of fortune; for, instead of bringing a portion suitable to her quality, her brother Win-
 cesslaus stipulated for a loan of eighteen thousand marks, one moiety of which was to be remitted upon the delivery of the princess at Calais. She arrived in England a few days before Christmas; and after the holidays the nuptials were solemnized: then she was crowned with great pomp in Westminster-abbey, and solemn tournaments were held upon the occasion. These diversions being finished, the parliament met again, and continued the subsidy on wool and leather for four years next ensuing. It was in this session the duke of Lancaster proposed, that he should transport a body of forces to the assistance of the king of Portugal, who was hard pressed by the king of Castile. As the Portuguese monarch was a very useful ally to England, the earl of Cambridge had been sent in the preceding year with a small body of forces to succour him in his distress; and by their valour they had actually raised the siege of Lisbon, which the Spaniards had undertaken: but they were not numerous enough to act offensively; and the duke of Lancaster, who never lost sight of his claim upon Castile, attempted to borrow of the parliament sixty thousand pounds, for raising a sufficient number of forces to drive the Spaniards out of Portugal, promising to repay the money in three years, either in specie, or by some service that should be acceptable to the nation. The proposal was debated in both houses; but the commons were so far from complying with his request, that, when they granted the subsidy for the defence of the realm, they expressly declared, they would not involve themselves in a quarrel with Spain on any pretence whatsoever.

Rymer.
Walsing.

During

During these transactions in England, France was exposed to all the inconveniencies of a minority. Lewis duke of Anjou, eldest uncle to the young king Charles VI. burthened the people with such grievous taxes, as produced insurrections in Paris, Rouen, and other populous cities : his brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who were associated with him in the administration, refused to concur in his measures ; and great disorder arose from their dissension. These circumstances being considered, this was judged a favourable conjuncture for invading France with such an armament as might intimidate her into a peace, which would be very acceptable to the English, who suffered greatly in their trade by the French depredations. A council being held at Windsor, the lords were unanimously of opinion, that the king should invade France with a royal army ; and they offered to serve under him with a certain number of men at arms and archers. The merchants of London and other trading towns being pressed to advance money for this service, declined running any risk without the security of the parliament, which was therefore called on the seventeenth day of May, to remove their scruples, and make provision for the government of the realm during the king's absence. Even then a committee of merchants appointed to consider of means and ways to raise the necessary sum, which would amount to sixty thousand pounds, proposed, that the lords spiritual and temporal, together with the knights of the shires, should lend a considerable sum for the necessity of the government, without interest ; and they would express their loyalty in the same manner, upon proper security, without which they declared they would not lend one farthing. The parliament, disappointed in this quarter, enacted ordinances, permitting foreigners to buy and sell their merchandize all over England,

A. C. 1382.
Purpose of
invading
France,

A. C. 1382. England, by virtue of the king's licence ; and permitting aliens as well as natives, to export wool for a certain term, on paying the duties at Calais, and remitting part of the subsidy on wool and leather, so such as should make prompt payment within a limited time. These regulations not answering the purpose, the scheme of the expedition was layed aside ; but the merchants of the West, offering to maintain a fleet for the safe-guard of the coast, their proposal was accepted, and a tax laid upon wine and merchandize for that service.

Crusade
against
France head-
ed by the bi-
shop of Nor-
wich. }

When the parliament broke up, conferences were opened for a peace between England and France, and the negotiation succeeded so far that both parties agreed to a short cessation of arms : but a final treaty was in a great measure prevented by a schism in the church, by which all Europe was divided. When pope Gregory X. died at Rome, the inhabitants of that city resolved, that no person should succeed him in the papal chair but one who would reside in Italy. This resolution was signified to the college of cardinals, who were generally natives of France ; and these in a formal instrument, protested against the validity of the election, in case any violence should be offered to the conclave. The Romans became so furious on the day of election, that the cardinals durst not venture to oppose their will ; and the archbishop of Bari being chosen, assumed the name of Urban VI. The French cardinals were no sooner at liberty, than they retired to the kingdom of Naples, and disclaiming the election as extorted by violence, proceeded to a new choice, which fell upon the cardinal of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Urban, who was naturally sour, proud, and inflexible, being alarmed at this opposition in the person of an accomplished rival, supported by such a powerful nation as France, layed aside his haughty deportment, and

endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the potentates of Europe. He created nine and twenty cardinals in one day, and elevated to that dignity Philip of Alençon, a prince of the blood in France: he confirmed the election of Winceſlaus to the Imperial throne; and that prince espouſing his cauſe, engaged the court of England in the ſame intereſt: their example was followed by the northern potentates, while Clement was ſupported by the kings of France, Caſtile, Scotland, and Cyprus, the counts of Savoy and Geneva, which laſt was his brother, the duke of Auſtria, and ſome other German princes. All Italy was involved in war; the enterpriſing Jane queen of Naples declared againſt Urban, and furniſhed his rival with forces; the emperor ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of Urban: two battles enſued, in the firſt of which Clement obtained the victory, but in the laſt he was vanquiſhed; and flying to France took up his reſidence at Avignon. The court of France prevailed upon him to preach up a cruſade againſt Richard king of England and his ſubjects; while his competitor excommunicated him as an antipope, and ſent over a commiſſion to the warlike biſhop of Norwich, to command a cruſade againſt him and all his adherents. He at the ſame time veſted this prelate with a plenary power as legate, to grant diſpenſations to clergymen who ſhould ſerve in perſon, excuſing them from attending their cures; and to beſtow ſuch indulgences and abſolution as were granted to thoſe who had engaged in cruſades againſt the Infidels. The people enliſted in this expedition with incredible ardour; and all ranks of both ſexes contributed largely towards the expence, by parting with their money, plate, jewels, and furniture, even before the biſhop was empowered by the king to put the pope's ſcheme in execution. It was, however, determined in council,
that

A. G. 1382. that an effort should be made against France ; and a parliament was convoked on the sixth day of October, in hope of obtaining a supply for that purpose. The bishop of Hereford, having explained the cause of their meeting, mentioned two ways of annoying the enemy, either by joining the Flemings, who had broke with France, and solicited the assistance of the English, or accepting the proposal of the duke of Lancaster, who offered to make a diversion in Spain with a certain number of forces, provided they would supply him with three and forty thousand pounds, which he engaged to refund in money or service. The commons rejected this proposal of the duke, whom they hated for the haughtiness of his manners, and whose designs they suspected of disloyalty, and resolved to encourage and support the bishop of Norwich in his crusade, as he proposed to transport his troops to Calais, and march to the succour of the Flemings, who were the antient and most useful allies of the English. They therefore petitioned the throne, that the Marches of Calais might be granted for a certain term to that prelate, with a considerable sum of money, out of the large subsidy they had just voted for the defence of the kingdom, that he might be enabled to assemble his troops and cross the sea without delay.

Rot. Parl.

His contract
with the
king.

The session breaking up, the members had scarce retired to their own homes, when advice was brought that the French had routed the Flemings with great slaughter in two successive battles ; and reduced all the great towns in Flanders, except Ghent, the siege of which they had actually undertaken. A council was immediately convened at Westminster, where it was resolved, that the king should set out in person for the relief of that city ; and a parliament was summoned to meet in February, that they might deliberate upon this resolution,

which was explained to them at the opening of the session, by the bishop of London, high-chancellor of the realm. The commons having consulted with a committee of the other house on the subject of his majesty's voyage, gave it as their opinion, that the truce with the Scots being almost expired, and that nation actually employed in making preparations to renew their hostilities, neither the king himself, nor any one of his three uncles, could be spared out of the realm, until the peace of the borders should be secured. They therefore recommended to his majesty's acceptance the scheme of the bishop of Norwich, who offered to raise a considerable army for the relief of Ghent and reduction of Flanders; and afterwards to carry the war into France, on condition of his receiving the subsidies which had been granted in the last parliament. By this time the bishop having more maturely considered the nature of the expedition, altered his first proposal, and engaged to serve the king one year with five and twenty hundred men at arms, and the like number of archers well mounted and accoutred, for the whole fifteenth granted by the laity; that two thousand of that number should be ready to embark within twenty days after the first payment; and, that he would defray the charge of shipping and all other expences.

This proposal being chearfully embraced by Richard, the bishop began to assemble his troops, and was joined by a great number of volunteers and enthusiasts, who embarked in the expedition from religious motives. With these he crossed the sea in May to Calais, where he proposed to remain until he should be reinforced by William de Beauchamp; whom the king had appointed his lieutenant: but he being detained in England by the dilatory proceedings of the duke of Lancaster, who endeavoured to thwart the bishop for having interfered with his

designs

Rot. Parl.

His expedition into Flanders;

A. C. 1383. design, the crusards became so impatient and mutinous, that their leader took the field, and attacking Gravelines, reduced it by a desperate assault. The inhabitants and garrison of Dunkirk, intimidated by this exploit, opened their gates to the victor; while the count of Flanders, who was intirely under French influence, prepared to give him battle. The bishop, who was by this time joined by the gallant Sir Hugh de Calverly, marched out to meet him with great confidence, tho' his army amounted to thirty thousand men. An engagement ensuing, the count was totally routed; and Cassel, Dixmuyde, Bourbourg, Newport, and Popperen, surrendered to the victorious English. The king of France alarmed at the progress of the bishop, assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, to chastise his presumption; and in the mean time the English were joined by a vast number of fresh crusards from England, thousands of whom consisted of the very dregs of the people, and profligate miscreants, allured by the hope of plunder. These were transported at the expence of Sir John Philpot; and became such an incumbrance to the army, that the bishop desired he would check his zeal, and send no such naked ruffians for the future. The prelate's forces being now increased to ninety thousand, he resolved to hazard a pitched battle with the French king; but there were a set of mutineers in his army, who publicly declared, that they would not march into France, until they should have taken Ypres, where they expected immense plunder; so that he was obliged to undertake the siege of that place, contrary to his own judgment. He gave several furious assaults, but was always repulsed by the French garrison; and these repeated miscarriages dispiriting the troops, that fought from the impulse of enthusiasm or the spirit of depredation, which cannot brook much fatigue or opposition, they re-

jected all discipline and restraint, ravaged the adjacent country, and deserted in such numbers, that their leader found it absolutely necessary to abandon his enterprize at the approach of the French army, and retire to Dunkirk with some precipitation, leaving all his artillery and ammunition as a prey to the enemy. Sir Hugh de Calverly and Sir Thomas Trivet threw themselves into Bourbourg, which was immediately invested by Charles, who summoned them to surrender on pain of being put to the sword without mercy. Far from being intimidated by this menace they stood two desperate assaults, in which the aggressors were repulsed with great slaughter; and then obtained an honourable capitulation, by virtue of which they retired to Calais. The French king marching to Gravelines, found the bishop so resolutely determined to make a vigorous defence, that Charles offered to conduct him and his forces to any place they should name, and pay fifteen thousand marks as a consideration for the provisions, and liberty to demolish the fortifications. The bishop finding the courage of his crusards considerably cooled, demanded a truce for a certain number of days, at the expiration of which he promised to give a definitive answer; and, this being granted, he sent a messenger with a letter to the king, pressing him to send a reinforcement to his relief. Richard was by this time immersed in all the riot and debauchery of unthinking youth; he had been debarred the advantage of a proper education, and he had not natural sagacity to supply this defect. He indulged his passions to excess; and was giddy, volatile, and voluptuous, without that good sense and discernment which often shine through the mists of irregularity and intemperance, and promise an agreeable after-day of reason and reflection. He was surrounded with pernicious sycophants, and his brain heated with riot and revel-
ling

A. C. 1383. ling at Daintry in Northamptonshire, when he received the bishop's letter, which he had no sooner perused than he called for his horse, and posted singly to London, breathing destruction to France, and personal defiance to Charles. At his arrival he sent for the duke of Lancaster, and appointed him commander in chief of an army designed for the bishop's relief; but, before the troops could be assembled and embarked, the truce expiring, the bishop was obliged to embrace the terms proposed; and having dismantled Gravelines, retired to Calais, from whence he returned to England with the wreck of his army.

Froissart.
Walsing.

The king's
indiscretion.

The bad success of this expedition concurred with other circumstances to dispirit and disgust the nation. The Scots had made an irruption into England, and demolished the castle of Werk: and when the duke of Lancaster proposed an interview with the prince of Scotland, the request was granted; but, instead of agreeing to a peace with England, they concluded a treaty of alliance with the French king, who obliged himself to send a strong body of forces into Scotland, together with a certain number of arms, and forty thousand franks of gold, to be employed in the prosecution of a war with England. The marechal de Sancerre had expelled the English entirely from the Limousin, and even reduced many of their forts in Poitou; the Norman privateers had taken a large fleet of ships belonging to the English merchants; and several ships of war had been obliged to surrender to the Castilian navy on the coast of Rochelle. All these disasters combined did not discourage the people so much as the inconsiderate and extravagant conduct of the king, who gave himself up wholly to a set of worthless flatterers who seduced him to his ruin, and plunged him in all manner of excess. His uncle the duke of Lancaster chose to live at a distance from court,

on various pretences, rather than mingle with the herd of low parasites that surrounded his nephew; and the bishop of London resigned the great seal, which was delivered to Sir Michael de la Pole, the son of a rich merchant in Kingston upon Hull, who rendered himself famous in the sequel. This man, succeeding to his father's wealth, supplied the king with money at exorbitant usury; and being of a cunning pliable disposition, soon insinuated himself into the confidence and affection of Richard, by exerting all his industry in gratifying the passions and appetites of his prince. While the king squandered away his revenue upon his favourites and pleasures, the queen acted with the same profusion towards her needy and rapacious countrymen; so that their finances were soon exhausted; and their necessities, together with the situation of public affairs, required the assistance and advice of a parliament, which was assembled at Westminster on the first day of November. The new chancellor opened the session with a detail of the public affairs; and observed that as the war had descended to the king with his crown, the parliament was obliged in honour to support it effectually. He told them delays were dangerous; that it was the king's pleasure they should postpone all other business, till that of the necessary supplies should be adjusted; and that no member should depart from the parliament without special leave from his majesty. The lords and commons, in obedience to this address, took the necessities of the war into consideration, and voted two half fifteenths, on condition the clergy would make a grant in the usual proportion; then they proceeded to deliberate upon the causes of the late miscarriage in Flanders, which the chancellor imputed to the bishop of Norwich, whom he therefore impeached for non-performance of his engagements with the king. The articles of his charge imported,

A.C. 1383. that he had received eighteen thousand franks of gold from the enemy; that he had not engaged the best officers that were to be found, or a king's lieutenant to discipline his troops; and that he had not served half the time stipulated in his contract, nor mustered his forces at Calais, according to the nature of his obligation. The bishop easily acquitted himself of the first article, and made such excuses for the subsequent part of his conduct, as plainly proved that he had acted with spirit and capacity; but, as he owned that some of his followers had misbehaved, and that he had not served the full time mentioned in his contract, he was adjudged to make fine and ransom at the king's pleasure; and the temporalities of his bishopric were seized for that purpose. The resentment of the parliament fell next upon the ringleaders of the mutiny, to which all the disasters of the campaign had certainly owed their origin. Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir Henry Ferrers, Sir William Ellingham, and Sir William Harrendon, were accused of having received twenty thousand franks of gold from the French for the surrender of different places. As they had actually touched the money in payment for the provisions, which they delivered up to the enemy, they submitted to the court; and their sentence imported that they should refund the money for the uses of government, and be imprisoned until they should pay fine and ransom at the king's pleasure.

Truce with
France.

This campaign of the bishop, though unfortunate for himself, was yet of some service to his country. The duke of Bretagne served in the army of France; and, as he still retained an uncommon regard for his old benefactors, he took this opportunity to mediate a peace between the two nations. Having represented to Charles the benefit that would accrue to his kingdom from a pacification, he sent two knights to propose a treaty to Richard;

ard; and Lancaster went over to Calais to treat upon the subject. Conferences were opened with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, at Lenlingen between Calais and Boulogne; but the French insisting upon the restitution of Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, and the English refusing to give them up, all that could be obtained was a truce from January till Michaelmas, including the inhabitants of Ghent; but the Scots did not chuse to be comprehended in the agreement. The count of Flanders eagerly opposed the article in favour of the Flemings; and dying at Stomer, in a few days after this convention, the duke of Burgundy, who had married his daughter and heiress, succeeded to his dominions.

A. C. 1383.

A. C. 138

Rymer.

The Scots having committed ravages on the borders, the duke of Lancaster at his return to England was sent with the earl of Buckingham, at the head of a numerous army, to chastise that people whom no treaties could restrain: but the duke did not engage very warmly in this expedition. He had always endeavoured to promote a good understanding between the two kingdoms, either because he thought that a peace with Scotland would have enabled Richard to assist him the more effectually in his designs upon Castile, or believed that the French would have been easily humbled, could the Scots have been detached from their alliance; or lastly, because he had a regard or affection for the nation in which he had been so hospitably received during the troubles of his own country. Whatever his motives might have been for favouring the Scots at this juncture; certain it is, he loitered away his time in Northumberland, until they had removed all their valuable effects beyond the friths: so that, when he entered Scotland about Easter, he could find neither booty nor subsistence. Having advanced as far as Edinburgh, which was deserted,

The duke of Lancaster invades Scotland;

A. C. 1384. he set the empty houses on fire, and returned to England, after having lost abundance of men and horses, which died of cold and famine. The enemy, following close at his heels, entered England, where they burned and plundered towns and villages, and ravaged the open country; and the English made reprisals in Scotland, until they thought proper to claim the benefit of the truce, to which both agreed on the seventh day of July. When the duke of Lancaster returned from this inglorious expedition, he found the popular odium increased against him to a dangerous degree of inveteracy: every mouth was opened in condemnation of his conduct; the people clamoured against his insolence and ambition, and did not scruple to accuse him of having betrayed the interests of his country. While Richard kept his court at Salisbury, during the Easter holidays, an Irish carmelite friar presented him with a paper, containing a circumstantial detail of a conspiracy hatched by the duke of Lancaster against his majesty's life; and swore by the sacrament of Christ's body, which he had that day administered, that every word of the accusation was true. Richard, startled at this intelligence, had recourse to the advice of two clerks belonging to his own chapel; and while the three were employed in a consultation upon this important subject, the duke chanced to enter the apartment. The king could not disguise his sentiments so much, but that his uncle perceived his resentment and perturbation, and immediately withdrew. Then the timorous clerks dreading the power of Lancaster, counselled Richard to send for him, and put the paper in his hand. The duke accordingly returned, in consequence of the message; and having perused the information, without betraying the least symptom of guilt or confusion, denied every article of the charge, and offered to purge himself by single combat.

he is accused
of treason by
a carmelite
friar

bat. Though the king seemed perfectly convinced of his innocence, he demanded that the friar should be apprehended and brought to his trial, and in the mean time secured in the custody of Sir John Holland the king's uterine brother. Richard complied with his request; and on the morning of the day fixed for his trial, the carmelite was found murdered in a barbarous manner. This suspicious circumstance renewed the king's jealousy, in which he was confirmed by the clergy of his household and Tresilian his chief justiciary, who proposed that the duke should be arrested, and undertook to proceed against him as a common traitor. This advice being reported to the earl of Buckingham, who, tho' a nobleman of good principles, was violent in his affections, and passionate even to a degree of phrensy, he forthwith rushed into the king's chamber; and drawing his sword, swore he would sacrifice all those who should presume to accuse his brother of treason. This address intimidated the king and his attendants to such a degree, that they durst not speak their sentiments, or attempt to take any vigorous measures against the duke, who retired immediately to his castle of Pontefract, where he knew himself secure from the machinations of his enemies. Though the council did not think proper to prosecute this nobleman, they resolved to apprehend the lord Zouch, who was mentioned as his accomplice in the friar's information. The gout had confined him to his bed, but he was conveyed to town in a litter, and brought to his trial, when he pleaded his own cause so successfully, that he was acquitted by his peers, who seemed to impute the whole information to the malevolence of the clergy, who were known to be his professed enemies. The lord Zouch's acquittal, in all probability, removed the king's suspicion of his uncle; for he began to listen to the suggestions of his mo-

Walsing.
Tyrrrel.

A.C. 1384. ther the princess of Wales, who laboured to promote a reconciliation between him and the duke, and at length succeeded in her endeavours. Immediately after this accommodation, the duke and his brother the earl of Buckingham were appointed plenipotentiaries to treat of a pacification with the French king, who had named his uncles the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to manage his interests in the congress which was held in Picardy. The two brothers crossed the sea on this negotiation, with a very splendid retinue; but the conferences produced nothing but a truce till the following May, in which the Scots were comprehended, as well as the duke of Lancaster himself, in the character of the king of Castile.

Rymer.

John Northampton
convicted of
a conspiracy.

While he was employed abroad in this manner, John Northampton, late Lord mayor of London, was tried and convicted of a conspiracy to murder Sir Nicholas Brembre, and several other wealthy citizens. He had been very busy in exciting commotions among the populace, and employed as an emissary one John Constantyn, who spirited up the multitude to commit numberless outrages: at length this understrapper was seized at the head of the rabble by Sir Robert Knolles, who dragged him to Guildhall, where he was tried, convicted, and afterwards executed. Northampton being apprehended as his principal, underwent his trial at Reading, where he was found guilty of the conspiracy, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, at the distance of one hundred miles from London. He excepted to this sentence, because it was passed upon him in the absence of his patron the duke of Lancaster, who was suspected of being the first mover of all those commotions; and even the king's doubts, concerning the loyalty of his uncle, began to recur.

Walsing.

Before

Before the duke of Lancaster returned from the Scottish expedition, he, as warden of the Marches, contracted with the earl of Northumberland, who, for a certain consideration, engaged to keep the field from the first day of May till the eleventh day of June, and have a watchful eye over the town of Berwick and the castle of Carlisle. He acted as lord lieutenant of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, deputy-warden of the Marches, and admiral of the north coast. The agreement between him and Lancaster was confirmed by the king at New Sarum; and it was supposed, that he undertook to be answerable for every thing that should happen within the limits of his command: notwithstanding all his vigilance, the Scots, in the course of this summer, found means to bribe the deputy-governor of Berwick, who betrayed the castle into their hands. The duke returning from Picardy, and being informed of the event, resolved to effect the ruin of Northumberland, to whom he had never been heartily reconciled since their first quarrel. He impeached him for the loss of Berwick, in the parliament which assembled on the twelfth day of November; and as he did not appear when summoned, he was condemned and forfeited for high treason. The earl was unwilling to appear until he should have made amends for his neglect, or rather for his error, in trusting such an important charge to a traitor: he assembled sixteen thousand men, with which he ravaged the southern parts of Scotland, when the tidings of the truce put an end to his hostilities: nevertheless, he thought himself at liberty to recover Berwick, which had been taken during a cessation of arms, and invested it accordingly. Having planted his artillery he gave the garrison to understand, that he would put them all to the sword should they make the least resistance; whereas they should have a gratification of

A. C. 1384.
Quarrel between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland.

A. C. 1384. two thousand marks, and be allowed to march out with all the honours of war, if they would surrender the fortress immediately. The governor complied with the proposal; and the earl of Northumberland having thus retrieved his honour, and vindicated his character from all suspicion, the sentence which had passed against him was repealed, though he never could forgive the duke of Lancaster, for having taken such a base advantage of his absence and misfortune.

A. C. 1385.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land, under
John de Vi-
enne, admi-
ral of
France.

The parliament in this session granted two fifteenths, and the clergy one tenth for the defence of the kingdom; and the judgment against Alice Perrers was now reversed. What induced the commons to vote so large a supply, was the intelligence they received of mighty preparations making by the French king for invading England by sea, while Robert king of Scotland should make an irruption with a numerous army into the northern counties. Though the duke of Burgundy had succeeded to the vast estate of the count of Flanders, the citizens of Ghent refused to lay down their arms, and solicited the assistance and protection of Richard, who sent over Sir John Bouchier to act as his lieutenant; and under the conduct of that brave officer they obtained several advantages over the French, which obliged them to postpone their design of invading England. This scheme had been projected by the duke of Burgundy; and a numerous fleet was assembled at Sluys for the transportation of the forces, under the direction of John de Vienne admiral of France, who actually conveyed to Scotland five hundred men at arms, and a very considerable sum of money, as a present to the Scottish monarch. The French army intended for the descent had already marched down to Sluys, and was ready to embark under the command of the constable, the marechal Sancerre, and the lord of Coucy, when the

Rymey.

the strong town of Damme declared for the inhabitants of Ghent, and admitted a garrison to defend it against the duke of Burgundy. At the same time the people of Sluys conspired with them to set on fire the French fleet that lay in their harbour. This scheme being discovered to the duke, he postponed the expedition to England, and resolved to chastise the Flemings for their rebellion: Damme was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword; and the French troops marched from thence into the heart of the country, so that England had nothing to fear for that season. Mean while John de Wienne pressed the king of Scotland to assemble his army and invade England; but that prince refused to take the field, until he should be certainly informed of the French army's being landed on the southern parts of the island: nevertheless, he furnished him with a small body of forces, at the head of which he made a furious irruption into Northumberland, and took several places of consequence. By this time Richard had resolved to march against them in person, and appointed the rendezvous of his forces at Newcastle upon Tyne, where a greater number of knights than had ever been known to serve on such an occasion, assembled to share the glory of his first campaign. At the same time a fleet of ships, commanded by the lord Thomas Piercy, was ordered to attend the motions of the army, in order to supply it with provision, in case they should find no subsistence in Scotland. John duke of Lancaster was detached with the van of the army, to intercept the Scots in their return from England, which they had ravaged to the gates of York; but they outmarched his forces, and carried intelligence of the king's motions to Robert, who was not a little chagrined to find himself exposed to the whole power of England, through the failure of the invasion.

Richard

A. C. 1385.
Richard
marches into
Scotland.

Richard maintained the same luxury and effeminate magnificence in the camp, which had always reigned in his court, since he was master of his own actions. In his progress to the North, a quarrel arising between his uterine brother Sir John Holland, and Sir Ralph Stafford son of the earl of Stafford, this last was treacherously assassinated by the other, who took refuge in the church of Beverly. The king was so much incensed at the murder of his favourite, that he resolved to punish the assassin with the utmost rigour of the law. His mother, the princess of Wales, employed all her influence with him in favour of her unhappy son; but he continuing inflexibly severe, she fell ill and expired through grief and vexation. Before Richard entered Scotland, the enemy had retired as usual with their cattle and effects, beyond the frith of Forth; so that he saw not a living creature, and must have starved in a desert country, had not his fleet supplied him with provisions. He advanced as far as Edinburgh, which had for some time been abandoned; and there the duke of Lancaster advised him to proceed northward, in imitation of his grandfather and the first Edward, who had penetrated to the extremities of the island. But he was surrounded by sycophants, who dreaded the protraction of the campaign, in the course of which the duke might supersede their influence; and therefore they opposed his advice, on pretence of its being calculated for confirming his interest in the army. In a word, they alarmed this weak prince with such insinuations concerning the ambitious designs of the duke of Lancaster, as convinced him of that nobleman's being a traitor; and as he had not courage to manifest his sentiments in a princely manner, they broke out into sudden starts of passion, which he wanted prudence to restrain. When the duke repeated his instances to

Walsing.

pass

pass the Forth, Richard said, with marks of great A. C. 1385.
perturbation, "I and my army will never go farther
"north, you and yours may." The duke answered,
"I have no will of my own, but am an obedient
"subject." "That you are not," exclaimed the
king, and then quitted the apartment abruptly.
It required some address in the duke to maintain
his footing in such a slippery situation; and he
prudently chose to efface the king's suspicion by
obsequious behaviour, and a constant attendance to
the duties of his office. By this time the fleet being
detained by contrary winds, they began to be in
great want of provision and forage, by which both
men and horse suffered exceedingly: they had no
opportunity of acting effectually against the Scots,
who avoided a general engagement, and distressed
them by intercepting their convoys from Berwick,
and cutting off their detached parties. A strong
body of them assembling in the West, under
the earls of Douglas, Marche, and Fife, entered
Cumberland, burned Penrith, demolished the castles
of Werk, Ford, and Cornwal, ravaged the country
as far as Newcastle, and even insulted the garrison
of Carlisle with impunity. The king, being in-
formed of these transactions, resolved to return to
his own dominions, according to the advice of his
three favourites, Michael de la Pole, Tresilian, and
Robert Vere earl of Oxford; and after having
burned the huts of which Edinburgh was composed,
and all the churches of tolerable architecture, the
army began its march in August for Berwick, after
an inglorious campaign, during which the Scots
amply indemnified themselves for the losses they
had sustained, with an immense booty which they
found in England. Richard no sooner retired, than
in conjunction with the French auxiliaries, they
invested the strong fortress of Roxburgh, which in
all probability would have fallen into their hands,
had

A. C. 1385. had not Robert been so disgusted with his French friends, that he would no longer act in concert with John de Vienne, who had debauched a lady of quality at his court, and insisted upon Roxburgh's being garrisoned by the French troops, in case it should be taken by their joint endeavours. The king of Scotland, incensed at the insolence of this foreigner, and the duke of Burgundy's failure in the performance of his contract, raised the siege, and abstained from all hostilities during the winter.

Buchanan.

When the king returned to Westminster he summoned a parliament to meet on the twentieth day of October; and in the mean time, ambassadors arrived from the king of Portugal, offering in their master's name to recognize the duke of Lancaster as king of Castile, provided he would join them with a reinforcement of English troops; and to give up in his favour all the conquests that should be made in that kingdom. The prince who at this time sat upon the Portuguese throne was a natural brother of the late king Ferdinand, whom the subjects had invested with the royal authority, in opposition to the king of Castile, who claimed the crown of Portugal, by virtue of his wife, the only legitimate child of the deceased monarch. He had formerly invaded the kingdom, from which he had been driven by the help of a body of English auxiliaries, who had not only raised the siege of Lisbon, but in a great measure contributed to the victory which Ferdinand obtained over the Castilians at Aljubarata. The king of Castile, notwithstanding this overthrow, began to reassemble fresh forces to renew his invasion; and Ferdinand being informed of his preparations, proposed this treaty to John duke of Lancaster, who was glad of every opportunity to assert his pretensions to Castile. Richard, who was too volatile to retain resentment, agreed to assist his uncle in this expedition the more willingly,

as

as it would remove a troublesome inspector of his conduct, whose ambition would be employed in external objects. His project seems to have been equally agreeable to the parliament, which granted a large subsidy for the voyage of John king of Castile and Leon, the security of the coast, and the safety of the Scottish Marches. The commons, thinking they had a right to some condescension from the crown, in return for this large supply, petitioned that the œconomy of the king's household might be inspected by the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal; and that the antient statutes concerning the household might be observed. They likewise demanded a list of the ministry for the ensuing year; but Richard evaded the first by an equivocal answer, and peremptorily refused to comply with the other demand. Far from giving them the least hope of retrenching his expences, he proceeded to new acts of extravagance and profusion. The earl of Buckingham was created duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Cambridge promoted to the dukedom of York; and each received a grant of a thousand pounds a year to support his new dignity. Michael de la Pole was created earl of Suffolk, and gratified with a considerable pension, and Robert Vere earl of Oxford dignified with the title of marquis of Dublin, to which was annexed a grant of all the revenues of Ireland, farmed for five thousand marks a year. Leo, who had been expelled from his kingdom of Armenia, arriving in England, on pretence of negotiating a peace between the crowns of France and England, met with a magnificent reception from Richard, who not only favoured him with a large appointment for his subsistence while he resided in England, but likewise granted him a pension of a thousand pounds for life. These instances of extravagance, together with his ineffectual conference

A. C. 1386.

The commons favour the duke of Lancaster in his design upon Castile.

Rot. Parl.

for

A. C. 1386. for a peace with the Scots and other enemies of the nation, increased the clamours of the people, and rendered him an object of contempt with his own subjects.

His expedition to that country.

The duke of Lancaster having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, bestowed the command of them upon Sir John Holland, who had obtained his pardon for the murder of Sir Ralph Stafford, and married the duke's daughter Elizabeth. The ships being prepared for transporting his troops, he embarked in the month of July with his wife Constance and his daughters, and set sail for Brest, which was at that time besieged by the French forces. Having landed his troops he raised the siege, and razed the works of the enemy. Then he proceeded on his voyage to Spain, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Corunna in Galicia. He was readily admitted into the town, and undertook the siege of the castle, which, however, he thought proper to abandon, after having given several unsuccessful assaults. Then he advanced to Santiago de Compostella, which submitted at his approach; and from this place he sent out detachments to reduce the neighbouring towns towards the frontiers of Portugal: these being easily subdued, he had an interview with Ferdinand, in which they resolved to invade Castile with their united forces, in the beginning of next summer. On this occasion too, the king of Portugal demanded John's second daughter Philippa in marriage; and the nuptials were afterwards solemnized with great magnificence at Oporto, where Ferdinand resided. The English and Portuguese armies joining in May, according to the plan which had been concerted, they entered the kingdom of Leon, where they reduced several places, before the king of Castile received the expected reinforcement from France, which at length arriving, under the command of

the duke of Bourbon, the Castilian monarch took the field, in order to stop the progress of the enemy; but he industriously avoided a battle, though the two armies lay in sight of each other during the greatest part of the campaign, till the heats producing an epidemical distemper among the English, they died in great numbers; and the survivors suffered so much from a scarcity of provisions, that the duke and his Portuguese son-in-law were obliged to retire into Portugal. There he was seized with a dangerous illness, which was not alleviated by his hearing that all the conquests were lost in a fortnight after his retreat. His knights, dispirited by the mortality among the troops, desired and obtained leave to quit such an unhealthy climate; and as the English fleet had been sent home from Corunna, a great number of them retired to Gascony through the territories of Castile, by virtue of passports granted by the king of that country. Thither also the duke repaired, after the re-establishment of his health, and there found subject of consolation for the disasters he had undergone. The beauty of his daughter Catherine captivated the heart of the duke of Berry; uncle to the French king, who demanded her in marriage; and the father expressed a particular fondness for the alliance, though he was obliged to consult his nephew the king of England on the subject. This answer satisfied the duke of Berry; and John actually wrote an account of his proposal to Richard; but in the mean time the news of this intended match reaching the court of Castile, filled the king of that country with alarm: he foresaw that such an alliance would naturally be attended with a peace between France and England; in which case, both powers would unite in prosecuting the claim of Catherine to the crown of Castile. In this apprehension, he dispatched ambassadors to the duke of Lancaster at Bayonne,

A. C. 1386

Froissart.

A. C. 1386.

Match between his daughter and the prince of Castile.

Bayonne, with proposals of a marriage between Catherine and his son and heir Henry. The duke saw immediately the advantage of such a coalition, by which his posterity would be secured on the throne of Castile; and made no scruple of giving the preference to this proposal over that of the duke of Berry. The articles of the treaty were soon settled; and the contract of marriage concluded on these terms: The crown of Castile, after the death of the reigning prince, shall descend to Henry and Catherine, and the issue of their bodies; or, in default of such issue, to the children of Edmund duke of York; by Isabel, the younger sister of Constance: two hundred thousand crowns shall be payed to the duke of Lancaster, towards the charges of his late expedition: he and his consort Constance shall receive two hundred thousand florins annually, for their respective lives; and four Spanish noblemen shall be given as hostages for the payment of these annuities. The duke of Lancaster stayed in Gascony until these articles were punctually executed, and three years elapsed before he returned to England.

Walsing.
Froissart.

The French, encouraged by the absence of this nobleman, with the choicest troops of the kingdom, persisted in their design of invading England, and carried on their preparations with incredible assiduity. At first it was surmised that they intended to besiege Calais, and young Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, went thither to provide for its defence: but, being better informed, he soon returned to England, where he gave notice of their destination. This was no sooner known, than the city of London was filled with terror and consternation; and the inhabitants ran about in distraction to pull down the suburbs, as if the enemy had already encamped before the walls: nor could they recollect themselves from their fears, until the king and council assembled a great number of country militia

The French attempt to invade England.

in the neighbourhood of the city. The ports and harbours were put in a posture of defence; and all the beacons on the coast prepared for giving the alarm, whenever the enemy should appear. A great number of men at arms was posted in different parts along the shore; and a fleet of ships sent to sea, with a view to watch the motions of the French transports, and burn them after the troops should be landed. While the English were thus employed in putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, the French army assembled at Arras, to a prodigious number; and above twelve hundred vessels were collected at Sluys, which was the place appointed for their embarkation. They proposed to sail about the beginning of August; but were obliged to wait till the middle of September, for the duke of Berry, who did not much relish the undertaking, because it had been concerted without his concurrence; and after he arrived with a reinforcement, they were detained by contrary winds, till the latter end of October, when they set sail with a favourable gale. They had not however proceeded above ten leagues on their voyage, when the wind veered about, and increased to a violent storm, which scattered their whole navy: part of it was driven back into the harbour of Sluys; part dashed upon the rocks; and a considerable number of straggling ships were taken by the English cruizers: so that in a few hours, the purpose of that mighty armament was intirely defeated.

A. C. 1386.

Juv. Des.
Urf.
Walsing.
P. Daniel.

England being now freed from the terrors of that cloud which had so long hovered over her with portentous aspect, the militia which had been convened for the security of the city of London, was dismissed, though not before they had produced inexpressible odium and rancour in the minds of the people against the minister Michael de la Pole, who had made no provision for their subsistence, and

Bold remon-
strance of
the com-
mons. 1

A. C. 1386. therefore allowed them to live at free quarter. The councils of England had never been more weak and undetermined than at this juncture. The ministry acted with the utmost timidity and distraction: while the king, at the head of a mutinous army, indulged his passions with the most unbridled licentiousness. His profusion still went hand in hand with his profligacy and intemperance. He now created the marquis of Dublin duke of Ireland, and he himself retained nothing but the bare sovereignty of that kingdom. The archbishop of Canterbury, a prelate of worth and ability, was set aside, and retired from all public concerns; while he of York, a person of a quite different character, engrossed a great share of his sovereign's favour. The dukes of York and Gloucester repined at their want of importance; the nation was dissatisfied, and the people called aloud for an impeachment against the earl of Suffolk. Such was the situation of England, when the king assembled a parliament at Westminster, on the first day of October; and the session was opened by a speech from the chancellor, who, after having explained the nature of the debts which the king had contracted, ventured to demand a considerable subsidy from the laity and clergy; which he thought he had the better title to ask, as Richard had remitted the taxes granted by the last parliament, on condition that he should go abroad, and prosecute the war in person. The commons, instead of complying with this demand, expressed such resentment against the minister, that the king retired to Eltham in Kent; where he chose to dwell on his necessity, rather than give sanction by his presence to their proceedings against his favourite chancellor. The members no sooner understood his abrupt retreat, than they appointed a committee of lords and commons to wait upon his majesty, and declare that they could not proceed to public business until

the chancellor should be removed from his office. A. C. 1386.
 Richard, incensed at their presumption, commanded them in an imperious manner to consider and dispatch the business of the nation; and told them flatly, that he would not, at their desire, remove the meanest scullion from his kitchen. Notwithstanding this repulse, they persisted in their demand, until the king, seeing them determined, thought proper to desire a conference with forty members, empowered to act in the name of the whole parliament. This proposal might have been complied with; had not some interested incendiaries industriously spread a report, that the king's aim was to secure and murder these representatives. The parliament alarmed at these insinuations, deputed the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Ely, as ambassadors, to expostulate in a friendly manner with the king, on the indiscretion of his conduct, and the ruinous measures of his ministry; as well as to declare the sentiments of the whole assembly, touching their full purpose and final resolution to do justice upon those evil counsellors, who had been the source of such misery and oppression to the nation. Richard is said to have at first resented the freedom of their address; and even threatened to throw himself into the arms of France, rather than be a slave to his own subjects. But the deputies demonstrating the pernicious consequences of such a frantic step, he suffered himself to be persuaded; and prevailed upon the earl of Suffolk to resign the great seal, which was given to the bishop of Ely: John de Fordham bishop of Durham was removed from the office of treasurer, which was conferred upon the bishop of Hereford; and John de Wal-
 Knyghton.
 Tyrrel.

The commons not contented with the removal of Suffolk, impeached him in full parliament, of having purchased lands and tenements of the king at

A. C. 1386. an under-value ; of having neglected to put in execution an ordinance of the last parliament, appointing nine lords to examine into the state of the realm, and give their advice towards its improvement ; of having perverted to other uses a tax which had been granted for the safe guard of the sea, which was shamefully neglected, to the great prejudice of the realm : of having purchased for himself, and his heirs, a grant of fifty pounds a year out of the customs of Kingston upon Hull, which had been bestowed by the king's grandfather upon the Tydeman de Limberg ; but since forfeited by the said Tydeman, of whom the earl had purchased it, though he was not ignorant of the forfeiture ; and of having, by false insinuations, prevailed upon the king to confirm the said purchase : of having obtained from the pope a pension for his son John, upon the hospital of St. Anthony, to the prejudice and disherison of the high master of the said hospital, or of the king, as the high master happened to be a schismatic : of having procured divers charters and pardons for murders, treasons, felonies, and other crimes ; and in particular, a charter of certain franchises to the castle of Dover, in disherison of the crown, and subversion of the laws and king's courts of judicature : and lastly, of having misapplied ten thousand marks, which were raised for the relief of Ghent ; by which misapplication, that city was lost, together with part of the money. The earl made such a weak defence against these articles, that the king himself, who was present at the trial, could not help shaking his head, and exclaiming, " Ah ! Michael, Michael, see what thou hast done ! " He was convicted and committed to the custody of the duke of Gloucester, who, as constable of the kingdom, sent him prisoner to Windsor castle ; and all his illegal purchases and proceedings were annulled. The

The parliament having thus brought the chancellor to condign punishment, appointed a committee of eleven noblemen *, to inspect the state of the revenue since the king's accession, and to reform the abuses of the administration. The king himself took an oath to abide by their decisions; and the parliament decreed, that any person who might presume to advise a revocation of the powers granted to this committee, should forfeit his estate for the first attempt; and, for the second, suffer death as a traitor, even though his advice should not be followed. The commission granted to this council implied, that the king of his own free will, and at the request of his parliament, had changed the great officers of the crown, for the better execution of the laws, the relief of his own estate, and the ease of his people; and appointed eleven commissioners as a new council, for one year after the date of the letters patent, to inspect the oeconomy of his household, and the government of the realm; to receive and disburse all his revenue, subsidies, taxes, and other payments; and to amend every thing that was amiss, according to their discretion. The same powers were vested in any six of the number, in conjunction with his three great officers; and if any dispute should happen between these officers and counsellors, the majority of these last had the right of determination. All the nobility and prelates, the officers of state and of the household, judges, justices, barons, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and all persons whatsoever, were enjoined to be obedient, counselling, and assisting to the said counsellors, as often as, and in what manner, they should direct. When they had in this manner circumscribed the

A council appointed for the administration of the government.

* These were the king's two uncles, of Winchester and Exeter, the abbot of Waltham, Richard earl of Arundel, John lord Cobham, Richard Le Scroop, and John Devereux.

A. C. 1386. king's prerogative, they freely voted a considerable subsidy for the defence of the nation; and the greatest part of the money arising from their grant was deposited in the hands of the earl of Arundel, lord high admiral of England, to be expended in securing the coast from the descent of the enemy. In order to make some amends for the freedoms they had taken with the king and his administration, they granted the ransom of the heirs of Charles de Blois to his favourite the duke of Ireland, on condition that he should repair to that kingdom before Easter, and recover at his own expence, from the Irish rebels, the great estate which had been granted to him with his last patent. This indulgence was no other than a gentle method taken to separate him from the king, who perceived their drift, and glowed with indignation at the insults they had offered to his authority. On the very last day of the session, when he had nothing farther to hope or fear from their resolutions, he gave a loose to his resentment, which he had hitherto suppressed; and protested in full parliament, that nothing done in that session should prejudice him, his crown, or royal prerogative.

Rot. Parl.

Richard's
levity and
misconduct.

After the dismissal of this parliament, the new council began to take measures for defeating the schemes of the enemy. Treaties of alliance were brought upon the carpet with several foreign potentates, particularly with the court of Gueldre, and the republic of Genoa, which was at this period one of the strongest maritime powers in Europe. The English cruizers, especially those fitted out from the Cinque-Ports, harassed the trade of France, and committed depredations upon their coasts with great success; and young Henry Piercy began to render himself famous by his hostile excursions from Calais, where he served as a volunteer. Richard, meanwhile, was reduced to such necessity by his extravagance

gance and excess, that he was obliged to borrow money of his subjects, to whom, as a security, he granted assignments on the taxes to be laid by the ensuing parliament. He released the earl of Suffolk, and re-admitted him into his councils and confidence: he retained the duke of Ireland about his person; continued immersed in riot and debauchery; and seemed bent upon revoking every thing which had passed in the late parliament. While he thus indulged himself at Windsor, in the midst of sycophants and pandars, the citizens of London, being introduced by his two uncles and other noblemen, presented a petition, requesting that he would dismiss his ministers, who were no other than blood-suckers that preyed upon him and the nation, and allow them to be secured until they could be brought to trial, and punished according to their demerit. Richard, startled at this application, thought proper to temporize and soothe them with general promises of redress: but they had no sooner withdrawn, than his favourites interpreted the manner of this address into open rebellion; and they are said to have concerted a plan for assassinating the duke of Gloucester and some other chiefs of the opposition.

Froissart.

The earl of Arundel exerted himself so industriously in equipping a fleet, that in the beginning of the year he was in a condition to put to sea, just as the French had laid up their vessels for that season. In his cruise he fell in with a rich fleet of Spanish, French, and Flemish ships, under the convoy of a squadron from Flanders and Castile, which he attacked with great fury, and met with a warm reception. The battle was fought for some time with equal obstinacy on both sides; but victory at length declared for the English, who took the Flemish admiral, and six and fifty ships that were under his protection. They afterwards pursued the

A. C. 1386. fugitives two days successively, until the number of their prizes amounted to one hundred and twenty-six, the greater part of which was taken by the earl of Nottingham, a young nobleman of a very promising genius. These ships were scarce brought into harbour, when advice came, that Brest was again besieged by the French forces. The earl immediately set sail for Brittany, where he raised the blockade of Brest, demolished two forts which had been raised by the enemy to strengthen the place, and supplied it with a whole year's provision.

The earl of Arundel relieves Brest.

The duke of Brittany surprises the French constable De Clifton.

By this time the French council had altered their plan of invasion; and, instead of embarking at Sluys, resolved to divide their armament, and make two different descents in Suffolk and Kent, the first to be commanded by John de Vienne, and the other by the constable De Clifton, who was ordered to embark at Lhan Trequier, in Brittany. John de Montfort duke of this province had been so insolently treated, and his subjects so grievously oppressed by the French government, that he formed the resolution of renouncing his dependance on that crown, and throwing himself again into the hands of the English. With this view he had actually engaged in a private negociation with Richard; and the constable suspecting him of some such design, kept a watchful eye on his conduct. He had communicated his suspicion to the council of France, and even prevailed with them to ransom the son of his old competitor Charles de Blois, who still remained an hostage in England. Montfort alarmed at this transaction, from whence he easily conceived the motive of the French ministry, which was to set up the young De Blois as his rival in the dutchy; and being moreover actuated by the furies of jealousy against the constable, who is said to have been enamoured of his dutchess, he determined to surprise that nobleman before he should be

be aware of his intention. The forces under the constable's command being cantoned at Lentriguët in Brittany, the duke invited him to an entertainment at Vannes, where, after having treated him with particular marks of distinction and friendship, he caused him to be arrested, loaded with shackles, and imprisoned in a dungeon: a perfidious breach of hospitality, by which however he dispelled his own apprehension, gratified his personal resentment, and recommended himself effectually to the English: for as the constable was the soul of the purposed invasion, his misfortune was no sooner known than the French councils were disconcerted; the troops, which placed all their success in the valour and experience of De Clisson, deserted in great numbers, and the expedition was altogether laid aside.

A. C. 1386.

D'Argentré.
Froissart.
Walsing.

Richard and his minions, in all appearance, were sorry for this event, which defeated a design that might have proved fatal to the nation; for they saw no other prospect of being able to shake off the trammels of the council, but that of its growing into disgrace with the people, from the miscarriage of its measures. The king repined at the success of the earl of Nottingham, who was lord marshal, and even envied his reputation. When that nobleman returned to court, after having so gallantly distinguished himself under the admiral, he met with a cold and mortifying reception, though he had been brought up with Richard from his infancy. The earl of Arundel was utterly neglected, and his commission of admiral given to Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, whose courage, in the opinion of the favourites, would either eclipse the fame of Nottingham and Arundel, and overbalance the popularity they had acquired, or induce him to engage in enterprizes that might end in his destruction; for they knew he

was

Henry Hot-
spur ap-
pointed ad-
miral.

A. C. 1386. was no well-wisher to the court, and therefore invested him with this command, which would either finish the career of his ambition, or excite an emulation and resentment between two factious chiefs of the opposition. Though he was poorly equipped, he undertook the charge of guarding the coast; and executed his office with equal activity and success, scouring the channel and keeping the enemy in continual alarm. The duke of Ireland, instead of complying with the ordinance of parliament, in repairing to that kingdom, continued at court, where his influence daily increased, and encouraged the king in all his profligacy and licentiousness; so that he was become the object of the people's aversion, and took so little pains to be well with the nobility, that he seemed to set them all at defiance. He had married Philippa grand-daughter to king Edward III. by his daughter Isabel, wife to the lord Coucy, a lady of great virtue and accomplishments; and now being captivated by the beauty of one Lancerona, a Bohemian damsel who waited upon the queen, he repudiated the king's kinswoman, and took this foreigner to his bed; while Richard overlooked the indignity.

The duke of Ireland repudiates his wife.

Walsing.

The duke of Gloucester was so incensed at the insult offered to his family, that he devoted Vere to destruction; and from that day began to take measures for delivering the kingdom from such a pernicious ministry. In an assembly of the principal noblemen at London he voluntarily made oath, in the most solemn manner, to the bishop of London, that he had always served the king to the best of his judgment and the utmost of his power, and never harboured a thought to his prejudice. He then explained the insolence and misconduct of the duke of Ireland, who had dishonoured the royal family, deceived the king, and contributed to the ruin of the nation; and declared his firm resolution

tion to bring him and his confederates to justice. A.C. 1386. The bishop, convinced of Gloucester's sincerity, imparted this asseveration to the king; and the earl of Suffolk affecting to turn it into ridicule, "My lord (said the prelate) such language would come better from any person than from you, who stand condemned by the parliament, and owe your life to the king's clemency." Richard, exasperated at the freedom of this expostulation, not only reproached the bishop for his presumption, but ordered him to be turned out of the apartment with disgrace. Every thing now seemed to portend an open rupture between the king and his barons: the emissaries of both sides were employed to revile and expose each other; every circumstance of misconduct in the king or his ministry, was aggravated by the most insidious exaggeration; and, on the other hand, every struggle for liberty, and every precaution of self-defence, was interpreted into the efforts of lawless ambition, and a premeditated design of mutiny and rebellion. The opposition was conducted by the king's two uncles, the earls of Nottingham, Arundel, Warwick, and Derby, the eldest son of John duke of Lancaster, who had distinguished himself for his courage and sagacity, and married the younger daughter and coheir of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford and Northampton. These two earldoms, with the lordship of Brecknock, he enjoyed in right of his marriage; and the king had two years before this period created him earl of Derby: so that he was one of the most powerful noblemen in England, even during the life of his father, whom he greatly excelled in point of understanding and policy. These noblemen having engaged in an association against the ministry, retired to their respective habitations in the country, with a view to raise forces for the execution of thier design; and

The duke of Gloucester heads an opposition against the king.

A. C. 1386. and they had no sooner quitted London, than the king ordered several citizens of their faction to be apprehended for high treason. They were so intimidated by this unexpected arrest, that, in order to save their lives, they confessed what they knew of the plan, which the lords of the opposition had formed; and the court dismissed them without farther punishment, in order to make a merit of such clemency, and engage the people in the king's interest. This measure was artfully taken, and produced a considerable effect in Richard's favour. The same expedient was repeated at Coventry with the same success; and the king and queen, with the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and his other favourites, made a progress into the western counties, in hope of prevailing upon the people to espouse the royal cause, or at least of influencing the election for a new parliament, that it might be more propitious than the last, which had so insolently abridged the prerogative.

The judges wrest the meaning of the law, in certain opinions subscribed at Nottingham.

Having made an excursion to the borders of Wales they returned to Nottingham, to which place they had summoned the sheriffs of the counties, the principal citizens of London, and the judges of England: they tampered with the first to return such members as would submit to the court measures, with the citizens to furnish men and money to quell the opposition, and with the judges to strain the laws in favour of the administration. The sheriffs and citizens were proof against all their threats and promises, but the chief justice Tresilian expressed his readiness to oblige the ministry, by preparing an indictment against the lords of the opposition, founded upon certain principles to be pronounced law by the judges. These being tutored for the purpose, declared, in an authentic instrument, that the ordinance and commission

mission enacted and granted in the last parliament, was derogatory to the king's prerogative; and those who procured it ought to be punished with death: that those who straitened the king in the exercise of his prerogative ought to be punished as traitors; that the king had a right to call and govern a parliament, to propose the subjects of their deliberation, and prescribe the method in which they should proceed; that those who postponed the subjects so specified, and proceeded to other business contrary to the king's pleasure, were guilty of treason, and ought to be punished accordingly; that the king had a right to dissolve the parliament, and command the members to depart, on pain of being punished as traitors; that the lords and commons had no right to impeach in parliament any of the king's judges or officers, without the leave of his majesty; and those who took that liberty were traitors: that he who moved in the last parliament, for perusing the statute of deposition against Edward II. was a traitor, as well as he who brought it into parliament, in consequence of that motion; and that the judgment given against the earl of Suffolk was erroneous and revocable. Such were the opinions given at the castle of Nottingham, by Robert Tresilian chief justice of England, Robert Belknap chief justice of the common pleas, and his associates John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, William de Burgh, and John Locton the king's serjeant at law, who sealed the instrument in presence of Alexander archbishop of York, Robert archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Chichester, and John bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michael earl of Suffolk, John Rypon, and John Blake. All these prostituted ministers of justice readily perverted the law, and contradicted the fundamentals of the constitution, in this scandalous manner, without the

least

Walsing.
Brady.
Tyrel.

4. C. 1386. least hesitation or remorse, except Belknap, who after having subscribed the instrument, not without great reluctance, "Now," said he, "I want nothing but a horse, a hurdle, and a halter, to bring me to the death I deserve, for thus betraying my country."

The confederated lords march up to London, at the head of an army.

While Richard and his cabal endeavoured in vain to raise forces, to support him in the execution of his weak and arbitrary designs, he received intelligence that Gloucester and the confederated lords had assembled a numerous army, and were on their march towards London. As the king had secured a strong party by his late popular proceedings among the lower class of citizens, and Brembre the mayor was entirely at his devotion, he hastened up to that metropolis, in order to anticipate the success of his adversaries; and was received with great magnificence by Brembre, who undertook to raise fifty thousand men for his service. Next day the confederates arrived with their forces at Hornsey, within three miles of London; but instead of advancing into the city, and proceeding to extremities, they wisely preserved a shew of moderation and respect for the Londoners, because they knew the king had a strong faction within the walls; and the earl of Northumberland, with the lord Bassett, and several other powerful noblemen, were still averse to extremities, though enemies to the ministry, hoping that the grievances of the nation would be redressed in a parliament which the king had promised to assemble. In the mean time, they neglected no opportunity of increasing the number of their partisans.

They abstained from all acts of violence; professed a deep sense of the calamities attending civil discord; proposed schemes of accommodation; and by their private emissaries inflamed the resentment of the people against the king, by spreading false reports

A. C. 1386.

reports to his prejudice. It was reported, that, under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Canterbury, Richard intended to cross the sea, and deliver up Calais to the king of France, who, in consideration of that cession, had agreed to furnish him with an army to subdue his rebellious subjects, and establish an arbitrary government in England. This report, circulated with a detail of circumstances, which gave it an air of truth, met with the more credit on account of the late determination of the judges, which alarmed every well-wisher to the constitution of his country. The archbishop of Canterbury and the neutral lords interposed their good offices towards a pacification; but their proposals were coolly received by Richard, until he had made a fruitless attempt to seize the earl of Arundel in his castle at Ryegate; and not only found himself disappointed in his expectations from Brembre, but likewise saw the army of the confederates increased to a most formidable appearance. Then his heart failed him; and he consented to a personal interview with the duke of Gloucester and his associates, who would not, however, attend him in Westminster-Hall, until they had received a safe-conduct for the security of their persons. At the very hour fixed for this conference, they pretended to have discovered that a body of armed men, commanded by Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir Nicholas Brembre, was concealed at the Mews, in order to apprehend and destroy them; and therefore they refused to set out for Westminster, until the avenues were examined: so that the king sat upon his throne a full hour before they arrived. At length they entered the hall; and approaching the throne with great submission, fell upon their knees, and remained a considerable time in that posture before Richard desired the duke of Gloucester to rise. The bishop of Ely reprimanded them

Their interview with Richard.

A. C. 1386. them in very severe terms, for having presumed to take up arms against their sovereign, who could have crushed them into dust; and then they were commanded to explain their grievances. The lords made no reply to the bishop, but still retaining the marks of humility and submission, presented a writing, in which they demanded that the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, and Nicholas Brembre, should be removed from his majesty's councils and presence for ever, as traitors to their king and country. Having delivered this petition, they threw down their gauntlets, appealing to the combat-evidence for the truth of their allegations. Richard, intimidated by the coolness and resolution they manifested on this occasion, laid aside his imperious deportment, and with great affability answered their petition. He told them their grievances should be considered and redressed, in the parliament which he had summoned to re-establish the peace of the nation; and in the mean time exhorting them to avoid all quarrels and dissention, took both parties under his immediate protection. Then he dismissed them, with assurances of personal kindness and regard; and to convince them of his sincerity, in a few days published a proclamation, clearing the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Warwick from the imputation of treason, which had been thrown upon them by the five persons they had appealed to combat, and requiring those accusers to answer for their charge in parliament.

Knyghton.
Walsing.

The duke of
Ireland de-
feated by the
earl of Der-
by, at Rad-
cot-bridge in
Oxfordshire.

Notwithstanding these appearances, the confederates still kept themselves upon their guard, because they had observed divers suspicious symptoms in the behaviour of the king, who had not suffered his favourites to appear in the interview, though he still protected them at court, and was wholly

governed by their advice. The caution of the lords was far from being unnecessary. They in a little time received intelligence that the duke of Ireland had repaired to the Marches of Wales, where he was joined by Sir Thomas Molineux, Sir Ralph Vernon, Sir Ralph Ratcliff, with several sheriffs and others, to the number of five thousand; and that his army daily increased. These tidings were no sooner reported to the confederates, than they sent the earl of Derby with a considerable detachment to stop his progress, and he encountered him near Radcot-Bridge in Oxfordshire. The duke had not courage to stand the first charge, but fled towards the bridge, which, being broken down, he quitted his horse and armour; and swimming across the river, escaped with great difficulty. Molineux, disdaining to fly, was killed on the spot; and the earl of Derby not only obtained an almost bloodless victory, but among the baggage of the duke, who was supposed to have perished in the river, found a number of letters, plans, and commissions, by which the confederates discovered the whole extent of the king's projects. This disaster intirely broke the measures of the cabal, and overwhelmed them with such consternation, that the earl of Suffolk disappeared; and, with a view of escaping into France, crossed the sea in disguise to Calais, where he was discovered and seized by his own brother; and Beauchamp the governor sent him prisoner to London.

A. C. 1386.

A. C. 1387.

After the battle of Radcot-Bridge, the earl of Derby rejoined the lords at St. Alban's; from whence they proceeded, at the head of forty thousand men, to London, and encamped in Clerkenwell fields, sent for the lord mayor and principal inhabitants, who waited upon them with the keys of the city. By this time Richard had taken up his residence in the Tower, where he found him-

The lords of the opposition oblige the king to comply with all their demands.

A. C. 1387. self in a very forlorn condition, abandoned by every body but a few attendants, who were so distracted with their own fears, that they could neither properly advise nor assist him in such an emergency. The confederates demanding an audience, he durst not refuse their request; and in this interview they expostulated with him so severely, that the unhappy monarch could not help shedding a flood of tears, while he promised to meet them next day at Westminster, in order to concert measures to be taken by the parliament, which was summoned to meet on the third day of February. This weak prince was no sooner freed from the intimidating presence of the confederated lords, than he was persuaded by his courtiers to retract a promise which derogated so much from the dignity of a monarch; and the lords, having drawn up their whole army on Tower-Hill, which was then very extensive, that he might be terrified by the sight of such a number, sent a messenger to declare, that, if he should continue to trifle with them, they would deliberate upon raising another prince to the throne. Alarmed at this declaration, he promised faithfully to keep his appointment at Westminster, and punctually fulfilled his engagement. There he complied with every thing they proposed; and gave up all his favourites, without distinction of sex or quality. The archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester had already accomplished a retreat. Among those that remained, were the bishop of Durham, friar Rushak the king's confessor, the lords Zouch of Haringworth, Burnel, and Beaumont, Sir Alberic de Vere, Sir Baldwin Beresford, Sir John Worth, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir John Lovel, together with several ladies of loose morals, who had conduced to the corruption and profligacy of the court. These were either confined in different parts of the kingdom, obliged to give security

rity for their appearance in court, to whatever might be laid to their charge, or banished the king's presence. Sir Simon Burley, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir Nicholas Brembre, Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, Sir William Ellingham, John Blake; and the following ecclesiastics, Richard Clifford, John de Lincoln, Richard Matford, and Nicholas Lake, were committed to close prison, that they might be brought to trial immediately. The judges Fulthorp, Beiknap, Holt, Burgh, Cary, and Lockton, were arrested on the bench in Westminster-Hall; but Tresilian had previously absconded. Richard, after the first interview with the duke of Gloucester and his associates, had, on pretence of summoning a free parliament, inserted a clause in the writs, directing the sheriffs to return such members as took no share in the late national disputes: but now the lords perceiving the drift of this distinction, which was calculated to deprive them of the assistance of their friends, obliged the king to grant a new writ, retracting the said clause, as contrary to the usual form, and inconsistent with the freedom of election.

Walsing.
Knyghton
Tyrel.

The session of parliament was opened by Thomas Fitz-Alan, bishop of Ely and chancellor of the kingdom, who declared they were assembled to reform the administration, advise the king, and concert measures for securing the sea and the Marches of the kingdom, relieving Guienne, and raising money in the easiest manner for these purposes. As soon as the chancellor had finished his speech, the duke of Gloucester, falling upon his knees, offered to stand trial before his peers, or maintain his innocence in any other shape, touching a malicious report which had been circulated to his prejudice, as if he intended to dethrone the king, and usurp the sovereign authority: but Richard declaring himself perfectly convinced of the

Impeachment of the
archbishop
of York,
the duke of
Ireland, the
earl of Suffolk,
Sir Robert Tresilian, and
Nicholas
Brembre.

A.C. 1388.

malice of this aspersion, he was acquitted of all such suspicion. Then the lords spiritual and temporal demanded a confirmation of their claim, liberty, and franchises, of trying and judging all important causes, relating to the peers, in the course of parliament, independent of the common or civil law of the realm; and their claim was allowed and confirmed accordingly, under the sanction of parliament. This capital privilege being ascertained, the five noblemen appellants stood up to exhibit their appeals, when the archbishop of Canterbury, in behalf of himself and the prelates of his province, entered a protest, asserting their rights to sit as barons and peers of the realm, and hear and determine all causes whatsoever brought before the tribunal; and declaring that this their right should not be prejudiced by their withdrawing on this occasion, in obedience to the canons of the church, that prohibited them from assisting at any trial against the life of a fellow-creature. Another declaration and protest of the same nature was made by the bishop of Durham and Carlisle; and their right being acknowledged, they withdrew. The temporal lords being thus left to themselves, the appellants exhibited their charge against the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, in thirty-nine articles of various texture, containing accusations of treasons and misdemeanors indiscriminately. These last consisted in their rendering the king inaccessible to his nobility, except in their presence; their intercepting the king's favours, and creating misunderstandings between him and his nobility; their obtaining grants of Ireland, and Okeham, with its forest, in favour of Robert de Vere; their bribery and corruption; their issuing great sums to the duke of Ireland, and obstructing the ordinances of parliament; their selling

com-

commands of importance in Guienne and the Marches of Scotland, to unqualified persons; their obstructing the course of law; procuring pardons for felons and traitors; maintaining suits and quarrels; excluding lords and other members from the king's council; advising the king to absent himself, and avoid treating with the last parliament; persuading him to convene some lords, judges, and others, and demand their opinions on several matters, in a suspicious manner; prevailing upon gentlemen in England and Wales to take oaths, and give security for standing by the king against all persons, by which obligations the realm was involved in trouble and confusion; secluding the king at a distance from the commissioners appointed in parliament; ransoming John de Blois, without warrant or consent of parliament, or of the great council; advising the king to distinguish his retinue with badges; procuring the opinions of false judges at Nottingham, in order to destroy, under colour of law, all concerned in the late commission and statute; intending to indict the lords and others upon those opinions, and arrest the duke of Lancaster, in case he had arrived in England; persuading the king that the commission and statute were calculated for deposing him from the throne of his ancestors; prevailing upon the companies of London to swear they would live and die with the king against all his enemies, at a time when he looked upon the commissioners to be traitors; publishing a proclamation in that city, forbidding all persons to aid or assist the earl of Arundel with arms or provisions; and another, forbidding every body to speak with disrespect of the persons appealed; and persuading the king to send a list of persons to his council, that they might be appointed sheriffs, with a view to pack a parliament. Sir Nicholas Brembre was charged with having ordered several criminals to be taken out of Newgate

A. C. 1388. by night, and executed illegally. The duke of Ireland was accused of having acted as chief justice of Chester, without warrant or commission; of having raised forces to destroy the lords and the king's lieges, and attempting to kill the appellants at the battle of Radcot Bridge. The other articles, amounting to a charge of treason, were their suggesting falsehoods to the king, and obliging him to swear he would be governed by their counsels, and live and die in their defence; their advising his majesty to confer the title of king of Ireland on Robert de Vere; and to write to the pope for a confirmation of that title; their counselling the king to put all the lords and commons of the last parliament to death, except such as were of their own party; their persuading his majesty that the late commission and statute were made to subvert his royal authority; and that all concerned in procuring and advising it ought to be punished as traitors; their prevailing upon the king to send Nicholas Southwell his valet, and other mean persons, with letters to the king of France, desiring his assistance to destroy the lords and others whom he deemed traitors; and in consideration of such assistance, promising to give up Cherbourg, Brest, and Calais; their sending to France for safe-conducts for the king, the duke of Ireland, and others, who intended to go thither and execute these treasonable designs; advising the king to issue orders for knights and gentlemen to rise with the duke of Ireland; to write letters to the said duke, representing himself in the utmost danger unless speedily relieved, pressing him to march to his assistance, and promising to meet him with all his forces. Such were the articles exhibited against the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, who being summoned in the chamber of the parliament in West,

Westminster-Hall, and at the great gate of the palace, without appearing to answer to the charge, the appellants moved that the default might be recorded, and the lords proceed to judgment. The king ordered some judges, serjeants, and others learned in the law, to deliberate upon the nature of this impeachment, and deliver their opinion to the lords; and these, after having consulted together, declared it informal, and contrary to the methods of prosecution prescribed by the civil law and the statutes of the realm. Notwithstanding this declaration, the lords, with the king's consent, resolved, that in such a cause, affecting his majesty's person and the state of the kingdom, and implying such heinous crimes committed by peers and other associates, the right of trying and judging was vested in the lords of parliament, according to their franchise and liberty, to judge and be judged in such cases with the king's assent, independent of any law whatsoever; that they would proceed in the same manner with respect to the present case, and determine it by award of parliament: they therefore adjudged, that the appeal was well made and duly affirmed, and the process valid according to the law and course of parliament.

The appellants being thus allowed to proceed, desired again that the default of the accused might be recorded; and, the citation being repeated, they demanded judgment. The king and the lords temporal, without having examined any evidence, being in their consciences persuaded of the truth of the articles, pronounced the persons appealed guilty of high treason. Their estates were forfeited, the archbishop's temporalities seized, and his person was reserved for further deliberation; but the others were sentenced to be drawn and hanged as traitors. Tresilian being betrayed by his own servant, was taken in a mean disguise, and brought

The judges
banished,
and several
persons of
distinction
put to death.

A. C. 1388. before the parliament, which ordered him to be executed immediately at Tyburn. The earl of Suffolk and duke of Ireland had fled beyond sea. Alexander archbishop of York was seized at Shields, attempting to go on board of a ship in disguise; but the duke of Gloucester would not inflict any punishment on his person, lest he should disoblige the prelates of his party; and prevailed upon the pope to translate him from York to St. Andrew's in Scotland. This translation, however, did not take place, because Scotland acknowledged the authority of Clement the antipope; and Alexander was allowed to retire to Flanders, where he served the cure of a small parish till the day of his death. The earl of Suffolk did not many months survive his disgrace; and the duke of Ireland died in a few years at Louvain, of the wounds he received in hunting a wild boar in Brabant. Sir Nicholas Brembre being brought before the parliament to hear the articles read, denied the charge; and, as a knight, claimed the privilege of proving his innocence in single combat: but this motion being over-ruled by the parliament, he was brought to the bar, condemned, and delivered into the hands of the earl marshal; who, with the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, attended at his execution. These prosecutions being discussed, the lords spiritual and temporal declared that nothing contained in the appeal should reflect upon the king himself, or be interpreted to the prejudice of his person. Then the commons proceeded to impeach the other evil counsellors, by whom his majesty had been misled. The judges, who delivered and signed their opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to die as traitors; their heirs were disinherited, and their estates forfeited: the same sentence was denounced against John Blake for drawing up the questions, and Thomas Huske for aiding and abetting

ting the scheme of arresting and indicting the noble-
men of the opposition. These were hurried to im-
mediate execution; but the judges were, through
the intercession of the bishops, pardoned as to life
and limb, though sent into perpetual exile in diffe-
rent parts of Ireland. Sir Simon Burley, Sir John
Beauchamp of Holt, baron of Kidderminster, Sir
John Salisbury, and Sir James Berners, were im-
peached by the commons, as aiders and abettors of
the five persons appealed and attainted; and Bur-
ley, in particular, was charged with having con-
nived at Suffolk's escape; with having assisted the
duke of Ireland in raising forces; with having in-
troduced him into court, and procured for him a
grant of the Welsh estate which had belonged to
his wife's father the lord of Coucy; with having
introduced to the king the mayor of Dover, who
assured his majesty he would send a thousand able-
bodied men of the Cinque-Ports to his assistance
against the appellants. All these knights denied
the charge, and offered to assert their innocence in
single combat; and the lords took time to consider
the case till the meeting of parliament, which was
adjourned during the Easter holidays. In this in-
terval, great interest was used in favour of Sir Si-
mon Burley, who had brought up the king from his
infancy, conducted the queen from Bohemia, and
was universally beloved for his amiable character.
The queen herself interceded earnestly for his life;
the earl of Derby used all his influence with the duke
of Gloucester to save him; and his instances prov-
ing ineffectual, was so chagrined, that his resent-
ment had well nigh produced dissention among the
appellants. Burley was condemned to die the death
of a traitor; but, as he was a knight of the garter,
the king, with the consent of the lords, remitted
part of the sentence, and he suffered decapitation on
Tower-Hill: Beauchamp and Berners were also be-
headed;

A. C. 1388. headed ; but the sentence was executed with all its rigour upon Salisbury.

The mutual contract renewed between the king and parliament.

These sacrifices being made to justice, and, perhaps, to faction and revenge, the parliament passed an act of amnesty and pardon, in favour of all who had been about the king's person ; or of the retinue, company, counsel, assent, or adherence of those who had been attainted and condemned ; excepting, however, certain persons of the clergy, as well as of the laity, who were excluded by name from the benefit of this pardon. The attainted persons, still alive, were rendered incapable of being restored to the protection of the law ; any pardon that they might obtain was, by anticipation, declared null : and it was enacted, that any person soliciting or endeavouring to procure any grace in their behalf, should be tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor. By another act, the commission and statute of the preceding year, with the proceedings of the last parliament, and all the proceedings of the appellants and their partisans, were confirmed ; and these last, including the Londoners nominally, were indulged with a pardon for all felonies, insurrections, murders, and other crimes they might have committed. The appeals, impeachments, judgments, and executions, made and awarded in this parliament, were approved, affirmed, and established, notwithstanding the absence of the lords spiritual ; with the proviso, however, that this approbation, affirmation, and establishment, should not be drawn into example or consequence : and, that although divers points had been adjudged treason in this parliament, which were not declared to be such in any statute ; yet no judges should be empowered to give judgment in any future cases of treason, except in the usual manner practised before this parliament. It was now judged necessary, that as Richard had violated

Rymer.
Rot. Parl.
Knyghton.
Walling.

violated his contract with the people, he should A. C. 1388.
 renew his coronation-oath; and, in his turn, receive the homage and fealty of his parliament. This ceremony being performed, the archbishop of Canterbury and his clergy denounced the sentence of excommunication against all who should attempt to disturb the peace and quiet of the kingdom. The commons had already continued the duty upon wine and merchandize, and granted an half tenth and half fifteenth to defray the charge of a sea-expedition: but now they continued the subsidy on wool and leather; and assigned twenty thousand pounds of the produce to the appellants, for the charges of their prosecution, and other services. After these important transactions, the session, which had continued from the third day of February to the fourth day of June, broke up, with the appellation of The Merciless Parliament; and another was held in the same year at Cambridge, where many wholesome regulations were made, touching the civil polity of the kingdom, and the grievance of repairing to Rome for benefices: and, in this assembly, a subsidy was granted both by the clergy and laity.

Rot. Parl.

While the lords and commons of the opposition exerted themselves in parliament against the king's favourites and prerogatives, the earl of Arundel, having received a commission as governor of Brest, and a renewal of that by which he was constituted lord high-admiral of England, went to sea with a squadron immediately after Whitsuntide; and, falling in with a French fleet, took fourscore of their ships, which he brought safe to England; after having ravaged the islands of Rhee and Oleron, and alarmed the whole coast of France from one end of the channel to the other. He sailed again in autumn with a numerous fleet, having on board the earl of Nottingham, the lord Clifford, Sir Thomas

The earl of Arundel's expedition to Brittany.

A. C. 1388. Thomas Piercy, and many other volunteers of distinction, with a body of six thousand land-forces. His purpose was not only to harrafs the French, but to persuade the duke of Brittany to declare openly against Charles. This noble fleet, however, was dispersed by a terrible storm; and the earl himself, with seven and twenty ships, obliged to take refuge in the small port of La Pates, within a league of Rochelle. The castle of Bouteville, in that neighbourhood, was then besieged by the marechal de Sancerre, who, being informed of the earl's arrival and shattered condition, ordered the inhabitants to block up the harbour with eight gallies; while, raising the siege, he marched with his army to attack them by land; so that he thought they could not possibly escape. But he was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Arundel, who had refitted his ships before the other could execute his plan; and, having intelligence of the marechal's design, put to sea, in order to meet the gallies, which he entirely destroyed; then returning to the harbour, and landing his men, he drove the French general to the gates of Rochelle. While his troops lay encamped in this place, he was joined by La Bernoy, who commanded the fort of Galuset in the Limousin for the king of England; and many skirmishes were fought with various success: but all hope of the duke's declaring against France in a little time vanished; for, although the French king deeply resented the indignity which had been offered to his constable, Montfort was secretly favoured by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who envied the greatness and reputation of De Clifson: and it was considered as a point of such importance to detach the duke of Brittany from his connexion with England, that Charles thought proper to overlook the outrage he had committed, and even allow him to exact an heavy ransom of the constable.

Several

Several other concessions were made, in order to facilitate and confirm a new accommodation; of which the earl of Arundel was no sooner informed, than he returned with his fleet and forces to England.

A.C. 1388.

Froissart.

The interests of England did not prosper so well in other quarters. A quarrel breaking out between the duke of Guelders and the dutchess of Brabant, this last received a reinforcement of troops from her nephew the duke of Burgundy; and, in order to counterbalance that supply, her antagonist solicited the assistance of England. Being gratified with an annual pension of a thousand pounds, he declared war against France; but, Charles marching into his country, he was intimidated, and sued for pardon, which he obtained on condition of renouncing his alliance with England. The accommodation effected between these powers, left Richard without an ally on the continent whom he could use for the annoyance of his enemies; while his British dominions were insulted by the Scots, who made continual irruptions into the northern counties. The younger Douglas and the earl of Fife had landed in Ireland, where they took the town of Carlingford, with fifteen ships, defeated the Irish in battle, and plundered the Isle of Man in their return. To revenge these depredations, the lords of the Marches entered Scotland, and ravaged the Merse; but retired in a hurry, upon receiving intelligence that the Scottish army was on its march to give them battle. A commission was given to the bishop of Durham, the earl of Northumberland, and other lords, to treat of a pacification with the Scots: but their endeavours proving ineffectual, the bishop of Sodor and Man was empowered to negotiate with Donald lord of the isles, that he might fall upon the north of Scotland; but neither did this negotiation take effect. The Scottish

Hotspur is defeated by the Scots at Otterburn.

A. C. 1388. tish parliament, assembled at Aberdeen, resolved to send two armies into England; and this scheme was immediately executed. One of these bodies, commanded by the earls of Douglas, Fife, and Dunbar, advanced beyond Newcastle, and ravaged the whole bishopric of Durham: then they encamped before Newcastle, which was defended by the famous Hotspur, his brother Sir Ralph, and almost all the gentlemen of the northern counties. The Scottish army consisted of three hundred horse and two thousand infantry; and therefore could not pretend to invest the whole town: so that their intent was only to provoke Piercy to come forth and hazard a battle. While they continued in this situation, the volunteers on both sides distinguished themselves in skirmishes and trials of valour. At length, the English making a general sally, an engagement ensued, during which Piercy and Douglas encountered each other on horseback, in sight of both armies: they were nearly of the same age, and rivals in reputation; so that both sides suspended their efforts to see the issue of this combat. At the first shock Piercy was unhorsed, and would have fallen into the hands of his antagonist, had not his men rushed in between them, and conveyed him to the town; but Douglas had won his lance and pennon, which he waved over his head, calling aloud, that he would carry it as a trophy of his victory into Scotland. So saying, he ordered his people to decamp, leaving Piercy to all the horrors of mortified ambition. He swore that Douglas should never carry his lance into Scotland; and, assembling six hundred horse and eight thousand infantry, set out in pursuit of the enemy, without waiting for the succours which were on the march from all quarters, to serve under his banner. The Scots, in their retreat, had undertaken the siege of the strong castle of Otterburn, before which they

they lay encamped when they were overtaken by Piercy, who instantly attacked them with great impetuosity, though the day was almost spent before he could begin the battle. He found Douglas ready to receive him; and the fight was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides, until the combatants were parted by the darkness: in a few hours, however, the English renewed the attack by moon-light; and Piercy fought with such fury to retrieve his honour, that the Scots were put into disorder, and began to give ground. Douglas being informed of this circumstance, rushed into the midst of the English with his battle-axe in his hand, hewing down all before him, until his retreat was intercepted, and he was environed by his enemies, without any other second than his own chaplain, who had followed his steps, and been animated by his example, to perform wonders of valour. His friends no sooner learned his situation, than they penetrated to the place, where they found him fainting with loss of blood from three mortal wounds which he had received, and his chaplain defending him singly against a multitude of foes. Having obliged the English to give way in their turn, they would have conveyed their general from the field, but that valiant chief, feeling his end approaching, would not suffer himself to be moved: he desired they would conceal his fate, and revenge his death upon the enemy. He expired immediately after he had given these directions: then his friends, throwing a cloak over his body, erected his standard; and, pronouncing his name as a word of encouragement, made such a desperate effort, that the English gave way, and were totally routed, after Piercy, with his brother, and above an hundred gentlemen and officers of distinction, had been taken prisoners, and twelve hundred left dead on the field of battle. The bishop of Durham, ad-

A. C. 1385. vancing at the head of ten thousand men to join Piercy, no sooner understood the fate of this engagement, than, instead of attacking the victors, who, being exhausted with fatigue, might have been easily defeated, he retired with precipitation to Newcastle; and allowed the Scots to carry off their prisoners and booty at their own leisure. The other body, which had entered England by Carlisle, plundered the west borders, burned villages, took a great number of persons of distinction and cattle, and returned unmolested to their own country.

Froissart.
Walsing.
Buchanan.

A. C. 1389. During these transactions in Britain, the duke of Lancaster, being appointed the king's lieutenant in Guienne, received powers and instructions to treat with France about an accommodation; and, a treaty being set on foot, ambassadors were sent to Paris, in order to adjust the preliminaries. At length, conferences were opened in the church of Lenlinghen, between Calais and Boulogne, where a truce was concluded for three years between the two kingdoms: and Robert king of Scotland acceded to this agreement. Peace being thus restored to England, Richard resolved to enfranchise himself from the thralldom in which he had been hitherto kept by the lords of the opposition. In an extraordinary council of the nobility assembled after Easter, he, to the astonishment of all present, desired to know his own age; and being told that he was turned of two and twenty, "Well then (said he) I am certainly of age to govern my kingdom; and I see no reason for my being deprived of a right which the meanest of my subjects enjoy." The lords answered, in some confusion, that he had certainly an indisputable right to take upon himself the administration of his kingdom. "Yes, (he replied) I have been long under the management of tutors, whom I will now remove from my council,

Richard
takes the
reins of go-
vernment
into his own
hands.

“ council, and endeavour to manage my own affairs.” Then he ordered Thomas Arundel, the new archbishop of York, to give up the seal, which he next day delivered to William of Wickham bishop of Winchester. The duke of Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, and other lords of the opposition, were removed from the council. The bishop of Hereford lost his office of treasurer; the earl of Arundel was deprived of his post of high-admiral; the keeper of the privy-seal, all the great officers of the state and the household, together with the judges, were changed, and every place filled with persons in whom the king thought he could intirely confide. These measures were followed by a proclamation, signifying to the subjects that the king had taken the government of the realm into his own hands; and that they might expect to see the peace of the nation better preserved; and justice more equitably administred than they had been before this alteration. At the same time he confirmed the pardons of the last parliament; and as a proof of his moderation and tenderness for his people, suspended the payment of the subsidy granted in the last session at Cambridge. At this juncture the duke of Lancaster returned to England, and effected a reconciliation between the king and the duke of Gloucester. As a recompence for this service, he was, in the parliament which met at Westminster in January, created duke of Aquitaine, and invested with the ensigns of honour belonging to that dignity. Edward Plantagenet, son to the duke of York, was also gratified with the earldom of Rutland, and a pension of eight hundred marks to support his new dignity. On the fourth day of the session the bishop of Winchester resigned the great seal to the king; the bishop of St. David’s delivered up the keys of the exchequer, which he kept as treasurer; and all the lords of the council

A. C. 1389.

Rymers

A. C. 1396

A. C. 1390. were discharged, at their own desire. Then they asked, in open parliament, if any person had aught to say against their conduct; which the commons having examined, declared themselves perfectly well satisfied with all their transactions. The king, immediately after this declaration, restored them to their places, and the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester were added to the council; though the king protested, that for any thing then done, he would retain or remove these counsellors according to his own pleasure. As the oppressive practices of the court of Rome were by this time grown almost intolerable, the commons petitioned, that the statutes enacted against those encroachments upon the royal authority, and the liberties of the nation, in the reigns of Edward I. and his grandson, should be punctually executed, and further regulations made for the redress of that grievance. The archbishops, alarmed at this petition, entered a protest, in behalf of themselves and their clergy; declaring, that they would not give their assent to the revival of any old statute, or the passing any new law against the authority of the pope, or in prejudice of the ecclesiastical liberties. Notwithstanding this declaration, Richard so far complied with the request of the commons; as to order the former statute to be put in execution; and they, in consideration of this indulgence, granted a considerable subsidy on wool and leather, for the defence of the kingdom, as the duration of the truce was dubious and uncertain. This subsidy was continued for three years by the next parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November. It was in this session that the grant of a thousand pounds a year, made to the dukes of York and Gloucester, was confirmed to them and their heirs; the parliament unanimously declared, that the royalty and prerogative of the king and his crown should be saved and maintained; and whatever

Rot. Par.

ever had been done or attempted against them redressed and amended; so as that the king should be as free as any of his progenitors. Such was the harmony subsisting between Richard and this parliament, that before it broke up the lords and commons presented their humble thanks to the king for his good government, and the great affection and zeal he had continually manifested for the happiness of his people.

All opposition to the king's measures had been suspended since the last reconciliation between him and Gloucester, who had been always at the head of the malcontents; and the earl of Derby, who was the soul of that party, had obtained leave to go abroad and serve as a volunteer against the infidels in Prussia, where he acquired great reputation for his military exploits. Richard's new ministers were men of more capacity and less exceptionable morals, than were the idle favourites who had formerly influenced his conduct; and his own manner of living, though still extravagant, was such as generally acquires the favour of the public. He instituted solemn tilts and tournaments, and revived the spirit of chivalry which prevailed in the reign of his grandfather. Nothing was seen but pageantry and procession of knights in armour, led in silver chains by their mistresses to the lists, where they contended in feats of arms amidst infinite crouds of people. The king himself and all his courtiers mingled in this mimicry of warfare; and the queen, accompanied by all her ladies, graced the field with her presence. All was music and mirth, feasting and rejoicing; the land was blessed with plenty after two years of dearth, and the subjects enjoyed a recess from dreadful ravages and burthen some taxes, to which they had been so long exposed. During this season of good humour, another parliament was called at Westminster in the

A. C. 1390.

Proceedings in parliament against the encroachments of papal authority.

A. C. 1391.

A. C. 1391. beginning of November, when the declaration, touching the king's full enjoyment of his royalty, was renewed with this addition, "Notwithstanding any statute or ordinance formerly made in derogation thereof, particularly in the reign of Edward II." And this was passed into an act of parliament. Over and above this instance of their loyalty and affection, they voted him a whole tenth and fifteenth to defray the expence of his voyage to France, whither he was invited by the French monarch, in order to compromise personally all their differences, and establish a lasting accommodation. Besides this aid, they granted others for the occasions of state, and thought they had a right to expect some extraordinary condescension on the side of his majesty. In these sentiments, the knights of the shires petitioned, that, as it was a common practice in corporations to admit as burgesses into their communities, all villains or copyholders, after they had lived a year and a day among them unreclaimed, the lords of the manor might be empowered to enter such burroughs, and bring away the villains who were parcel of their property. This petition was rejected, as an attack upon the privileges of corporations; nor did he think proper to grant the other, in which the whole body of the commons concurred, proposing an act for disabling the villains of copyholders, of prelates and monasteries, to purchase lands in fee; and from hindering all villains from sending their sons to school, whereby they obtained learning, and freed themselves from their servility, to the prejudice of the right and honour of the freeholders in England. Notwithstanding these repulses, the parliament had great reason to be pleased with Richard's conduct in this session. The schism in the church still continued; and Boniface IX. being elected in the place of Urban, sent a nuncio to the court of England, to use his

his best endeavours for a repeal of the statutes of A. C. 1391. proviso, and others, which had been enacted against the encroachments of papal authority; as well as for preventing a peace between Richard and Charles of France, who supported the antipope Benedict XIII. The nuncio executed his commission with great ability, and Richard seemed to listen with pleasure to his suggestions; but, as he would take no step that would deviate from the scheme of popularity he had projected, he referred the pope's propositions to the parliament, by which they were disapproved; while a peace with France was strongly recommended. Richard acquiesced in their sentiments, and declared his intention to confer with the king of France in person. The great corporations, convents, and other communities of the kingdom, vied with each other in assisting him to make an appearance suitable to his dignity. He was furnished with rich equipages, and presented with large sums of money; and a great number of young noblemen and knights resolved to accompany him to this interview. In the mean time, commissioners were appointed to treat with France and Scotland; and all parties agreed that a general congress should be held at Amiens, where the treaty of peace might be concluded and ratified in presence of the two monarchs.

At the time appointed, Charles of France, with A. C. 1392. his brother and three uncles, repaired to Amiens; and Richard went as far as Dover in his way to the interview; but whether he altered his resolution of his own accord, or was diverted from his purpose by the representations of his council, his voyage was postponed, and he remained in Dover-Castle with the duke of Gloucester, while his other two uncles, with the earls of Huntingdon and Derby, the bishops of London and Derby, Sir Thomas Piercy, and others of his council, proceeded to

A truce concluded with France.

A. C. 1392. Amiens in quality of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries. They entered that place with a train of twelve hundred horse, and during their stay were maintained at the expence of the French king, who treated them in a sumptuous manner. The conferences were immediately opened; but such difficulties occurred, as there was no probability of surmounting. The French insisted upon the demolition of Calais; and the English demanded the restitution of all the places they had lost in France, since the treaty of Bretigny, together with the payment of the last moiety of king John's ransom. Charles was willing that the crown of England should enjoy the nine bishoprics, and all its possessions in Guienne, independent of any sovereignty, and even offered to pay the ransom within three years, on condition that Calais should be demolished; but this was an article concerning which the duke of Lancaster remained inflexible, declaring he had no powers to grant him such concession. The truce was therefore prolonged till Michaelmas of the ensuing year, and the terms of the peace as proposed by France referred to the consideration of the English council. Two French knights accompanied the ambassadors, in their return to Dover, to know the king's determination on this subject; and a council being called, the plenipotentiaries communicated the particulars of their negociation. A debate ensuing, the duke of Gloucester observed that they had no power to proceed with the treaty without the advice and consent of a parliament, as the affair of Calais was of the utmost importance to the kingdom: a definitive answer therefore could not be given, until the matter should have been debated in the great assembly of the nation; but in the mean time the prolongation of the truce was ratified by his majesty in council.

The treaty of Amiens produced little advantage A. C. 1392. to any person but the duke of Lancaster, who received the whole subsidy granted in the last parliament, or at least the better part of it, to indemnify him for the expence of his voyage. With respect to the grant of Guienne, which he had obtained, he met with some difficulties that were not easily surmounted. The order which the king had sent for his being put in possession of that dutchy was disputed by the people of Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and other principal cities, as well as the noblesse of the country, who imagined this grant implied an alienation of the province, and an entire separation from the crown of England, contrary to the privilege of holding their lands immediately of the king or his eldest son, and of no other person. They likewise found a defection in the grant, which, though it conveyed to the duke of Lancaster the dutchy with all its rights, revenues, and appurtenances, requiring all persons to do homage and fealty to him, contained no clause which released them from the allegiance they had sworn to Richard. They moreover suspected that the grant was obtained in a surreptitious manner, or by compulsion; and, in order to dispel their doubts, and remove their exceptions, the prelates, nobility, and cities of Guienne, sent over deputies to learn the king's pleasure from his own mouth. These arrived about Midsummer at Nottingham, where Richard had assembled a great council to deliberate upon the treaty with France; and having explained their embassy, the king assured them that he had made the grant of his own free will, with the consent of parliament, for the duke's natural life only. He confirmed all liberties and privileges of the clergy, nobility, cities, and commons of Guienne, in an instrument signed by himself, and authenticated by the great seal of England.

Deputies
from
Guienne.

A. C. 1392.

Rymer.

An insurrection in London.

During the session of this council, a dangerous insurrection happened at London. Richard, whose extravagance and profusion very often reduced him to great necessities, had attempted to borrow a thousand pounds of the citizens of London, who not only refused to grant his request, but insulted and abused a Lombard merchant who offered to accommodate his majesty. The king, incensed at this aggravated affront, revoked all exemptions which had been granted by his father and himself, to excuse individuals from public offices in cities, counties, and corporations; and the mayor of London with the sheriffs were ordered to attend the council at Nottingham, where they and the whole city were convicted of a riot, and obliged to submit themselves to the king's mercy in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds. In the mean time they were deprived of their offices and committed to prison; and Sir Edward Dalyngrygge was appointed warden of the city: yet they were soon released, and their antient form of government restored. The Londoners in general favoured the doctrine of Wickliff, and were of consequence exposed to the ill offices of the bishops, whom they hated accordingly. A baker having been insulted in the street, by a domestic belonging to the bishop of Salisbury, the common people took the alarm; and, assembling in great numbers, would have set fire to the prelate's palace, had not they been with difficulty restrained by the magistracy. The bishop complaining to the king of this outrage, Richard issued out a writ for commissioners of oyer and terminer, to sit at Eaton and try the delinquents; and the dukes of Gloucester and York presided at the trial. The Londoners being found guilty, were fined in three thousand marks, their liberties seized into the king's hands, the sheriffs and aldermen changed, and Sir Baldwin Radynton appointed warden of the city.

The

The citizens, humbled by the loss of their franchises, and dreading the bond which hung over their heads, implored the queen's intercession with great humility, and were pardoned at her request. The king made a public entry into the city, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, and received very valuable presents: the fine was remitted, the bond cancelled, their liberties were restored, and their charters confirmed.

Knyghton,
Walsing.
Rymer.

The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of January, seem to have waved all deliberations concerning a new treaty with France, because Charles, having been seized with a disorder in his brain, was rendered incapable of managing the reins of government, and the affairs of the realm continued in confusion, until the regency was vested in the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. The commons granted a conditional subsidy, in case of a war with France or Scotland, or of the king's heading an expedition in person; for as they knew his want of œconomy, they did not think proper to grant him any superfluous supply. Several laws had been enacted, in the four proceeding parliaments, against the encroachments of the papal power in England. The pope's agent had been obliged to swear he would be true to the king and his crown, and keep his laws and rights inviolate; that he would take no step that should be prejudicial to the royal authority, or the laws of the kingdom, nor execute any papal bulls or mandates to the detriment of the king, or contrary to the laws of the realm; that he would not receive or publish any of the pope's letters, without having first communicated them to the council; nor send any money or plate out of the kingdom, without a special licence from the king or his council. Every person was subjected to a premunire, who should go or send out of England to provide or purchase for himself any ecclesiastical

A. C. 1393.

The statute
of Premunire enacted
against papal encroachments.

A. C. 1393. **fiat**tical benefice: statutes against provisors were revived, and a stop was put to the collection of a tenth imposed by the pope upon the clergy of England. The archbishops and prelates had issued mandates for levying this tax, but were ordered to revoke them, and return the money which had been raised; and the agent was prohibited on pain of life and limb from proceeding farther in the collection. His holiness, alarmed at these measures, sent over a nuncio (as we have already observed) to solicit the repeal or suspension of the statute against provisors; but all he could obtain was a permission of collating to the benefices that should fall vacant in the court of his holiness. This permission he had egregiously abused, in issuing bulls for translating bishops to poorer sees, with their own consent; and then filling up the rich vacancies in favour of those who payed exorbitant sums for the nomination. In this parliament the commons made a strong remonstrance, complaining, that the pope translated English prelates to foreign sees, and from one bishopric to another, without the knowledge and consent of the king, and even of the bishops so translated; a practice by which the statutes of the kingdom would be defeated, the lieges of his majesty's council removed out of the realm against their own inclinations, and the treasure of the nation exported; so that it would in a little time become destitute of wealth and council, to its utter impoverishment and destruction. The crown of England, which had been always free and independent of every earthly sovereign, would be made subject to the pope, and the statutes of the realm rendered of no effect; to the disgrace of the king, his crown and royalty, and the ruin of the whole kingdom. They declared they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes against all processes in the court of Rome, about rights of patronage, bulls, and mandates,

dates, and all attempts against his crown and royalty. All the lords spiritual and temporal made the same declaration, tho' the prelates entered a protest that they did not intend to deny the pope's canonical authority; and the famous Statute of Premunire was passed against all that purchased or solicited, in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, any translations of bishops, processes and sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any thing else to the prejudice of the king, his crown, regality, or kingdom. This statute and declaration had such effect, that, during the remaining part of Richard's reign, very few instances of papal encroachment occurred; and no attempt of that kind succeeded without the warrant of a royal licence.

Rymer.
Rot. Parl.
Clauf. 13.
Rich. II.

After the parliament broke up, the king appointed the duke of Lancaster his lieutenant in Picardy; and granted a commission, empowering that nobleman and his brother the duke of Gloucester to treat with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, about the prolongation of the truce. The conferences were held at Lenlinghen, between Calais and Boulogne, and continued nine days, during which the truce was prolonged till Michaelmas of the ensuing year; but the former difficulties touching a final peace recurred, and they were obliged to suspend their negotiation until they should have received further instructions. Both courts were tired of the war, and sincerely disposed towards an accommodation; therefore the treaty was renewed, and some progress made towards a pacification. The French consented to restore Bigorre, the Agenois, and Perigort; but would not cede Rouvergne, Quercy, the Limousin, Ponthieu, or any part of Guisnes but what was actually possessed by the English. Richard's plenipotentiaries would not suffer Calais to be mentioned; but with respect to Cherbourg and Brest, a proposal was made, that the king of France

Congress at
Lenlinghen,
held by the
plenipoten-
taries of
France and
England.

A. C. 1393. France should pay a certain sum of money to Richard for the restitution of these places to the king of Navarre and the duke of Brittany. All the articles were well nigh adjusted, when Charles, who resided at Abbeville, being seized with a return of his frenzy, the conferences were suddenly suspended: but they were renewed in September, by which time he had retrieved the use of his reflection; and, the affair of Cherbourg being settled, orders were given for surrendering it immediately to the king of Navarre.

Rymer.

A. C. 1394. The other articles being discussed, a plan of the treaty was laid before the parliament, which met at Westminster in January, when the proceedings of the plenipotentiaries were approved by both houses: but they unanimously joined in desiring that the king would not pay liege homage; that there should be a saving of the liberty of his person, and the crown of England; that he and his heirs might resume their claim to the crown of France, if the peace should be infringed by Charles; and that measures should be taken to prevent any future confiscation of Guienne. This request and advice was delivered in writing by the hands of Sir John Bussy the speaker, who declared, in the name of the commons, that they would decline giving their advice touching the treaty of peace, unless these preliminaries should be settled. This declaration produced a debate among the lords; and some bitter altercation passed between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Arundel, who, as rivals in power and influence, had long hated each other in secret. During the duke's absence in Picardy, the people of Cheshire and Lancashire, who lived under the government of the king's two uncles, raised an insurrection against their officers; and being headed by Sir Thomas Talbot, threatened to destroy all the estates belonging to the duke of Lancaster, who
returning

The duke of Lancaster and earl of Arundel accuse each other in parliament.

returning suddenly to England, to quell this disturbance, understood that the earl of Arundel had remained in the neighbourhood at his castle of Holt, without taking any step to disperse the insurgents. Incensed at his indifference, he accused the earl of having connived at the violences they committed; but he justified himself in such a manner, as convinced even the duke of his innocence. He resolved however to be revenged upon his accuser for this insult offered to his honour, and impeached the duke in his turn, for being too familiar with the king, whom he had obliged to wear his colour and livery; for intimidating the members of the council, so as that they could not speak their sentiments freely; for having obtained an illegal grant of Guienne, and an exorbitant sum of money for his expedition into Spain; and for misconduct in the management of the late treaty. The king, who detested Arundel, made himself a party in this quarrel: he told the house the whole was false and frivolous; that he admitted the duke to no familiarity but what was consistent with the consanguinity and affection subsisting between them; that he wore his uncle's colour as a mark of that affection; that the grant of Guienne was made with the consent of parliament, which had likewise gratified him with part of the money expended in the Spanish expedition; that the after-payment was less than he deserved, considering the relief of Brest and other services; and that his conduct in managing the treaty was warranted by the instructions he had received from the king and council. After this declaration of the sovereign, the parliament could not decently avoid passing a vote, acquitting the duke of the imputations laid to his charge; and the earl of Arundel was obliged to ask his pardon in full parliament. Then the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, as count palatine of Lancaster and lord chief justice of Chester,

Walking.

A. C. 1394. petitioned the king and lords for judgment against Sir Thomas Talbot and others, for having engaged in a conspiracy to take away their lives, and raised forces for that purpose. The king, with the concurrence of the lords, declared the offence to be high treason, and ordered Talbot to be apprehended and brought to trial. If not found by the sheriff, it was resolved that he should be summoned to appear at next Easter term, in the court of king's bench, on pain of being deemed convicted of treason, with the forfeiture of his lands and chattels; and that all who harboured him should be subjected to the same penalty. These measures being taken, the king declared his intention of going to Ireland in person; and demanding a subsidy for that purpose, was accommodated, according to his desire, with an aid on wool, wine, and other merchandize. **Rot. Parl.** Immediately after the parliament rose, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester returned to France, in order to put the finishing hand to the treaty of peace. The congress was again opened at Lenlinghen; but the dispute about the superiority of Guienne hindered it from taking effect, though the truce was prolonged for five years, and Scotland was included in this agreement. **Rymer.**

While John duke of Lancaster was employed in this negotiation, his own wife Constance of Castile died in England; and her death was followed by that of his daughter in-law the countess of Derby. These ladies were not long survived by the queen, who was regretted by the whole nation, as a good-natured, sensible, compassionate princess: from the meekness of her disposition, she had acquired the epithet of The Good Queen Anne; and her death made such a deep impression on the mind of Richard, that he was for some time disconsolate, and never could bear the sight of the palace at Sheen, where she expired. This melancholy event

confirmed him in his resolution of crossing the sea to Ireland, where the English interest was by this time in a very declining situation. The English noblemen, who possessed large estates in that country, chose to fix their residence in England; so that Ireland was left almost altogether defenceless, and exposed to the efforts of the old Irish sept, who did not neglect this opportunity to recover their antient possessions. These they retook by force of arms, and plundered all the rest of the country that belonged to the English; insomuch that, whereas Edward III. had drawn a considerable revenue from that kingdom, Richard, far from reaping any such advantage from it, was obliged to expend thirty thousand marks yearly, for the preservation of what little still remained under his dominion. In August a proclamation was issued, commanding all the absent proprietors to repair to Ireland by the eighth day of September, and wait the king's arrival. The military tenants of the crown were summoned: the Cinque-Ports required to furnish their armament of fifty-seven ships, well-manned: and, as the duke of Lancaster had resolved to set out for Guienne, his brother the duke of York was appointed guardian of England during the king's absence. The forces being assembled, and the navy equipped, Richard set out for Wales, accompanied by the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Marche, Nottingham, and Rutland; and, embarking about Michaelmas at Milford-Haven, landed in Ireland, with an army of thirty thousand men. The native Irish, intimidated by such a powerful armament, either retired to their fastnesses, or made their submission; and Richard treated them with great clemency. He not only pardoned those who submitted, but even allotted pensions to their chiefs; and endeavoured to reclaim them from their native barbarity. The earl of Nottingham was empowered to receive, in

Richard's
expedition
into Ireland.

A.C. 1395. the king's name, the submission and homage of all the Irish in Leinster; and they gave bonds for their peaceable behaviour. O Neal, who pretended to be lord paramount over the other princes of Ireland, made a voluntary tender of allegiance to Richard; and did homage to him at Drogheda; though he still reserved to himself a kind of sovereign power, which the king did not think it worth his while to dispute. His example was followed by O Hanlon, O Donnel, Macmahon, and other toparchs, who engaged for themselves and their whole clans, that they should not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Richard invited all the chiefs to an entertainment at Dublin, during the Christmas festival; and not only entertained them with royal munificence, but also conferred upon them the order of knighthood; and encouraged them to adopt the English customs, habit, and way of living. He afterwards summoned a parliament in the same city, with a view to redress their grievances; with respect to which they obtained full satisfaction in the punishment and removal of those officers by whom they had been injured and oppressed: in a word, he behaved with such lenity and prudence as acquired the affection and esteem of the native Irish, the greater part of whom quietly submitted to his dominion.

A.C. 1395. While he was thus laudably employed in Ireland; the guardian convoked a parliament at Westminster, in the month of January; and the duke of Gloucester was sent over to manage the interest of the crown in this assembly, which being made acquainted with the king's proceedings in Ireland; approved of his conduct, and granted a subsidy to enable him to finish the reduction of that country. A nuncio from the pope attended at this session to solicit a repeal of the statute against provisors; but all his solicitations proved ineffectual. A remonstrance was also presented by the Wickliffites, who

who had by this time acquired the appellation of *A. C. 1395.* Lollards, and were become so numerous and confident, as to preach, write, and declaim openly against the established religion. Under the protection of some powerful noblemen, they publicly impeached the morals and doctrines of the clergy; they fixed libels on the doors of churches; and a writing, containing the articles of their charge, was now brought into parliament, by Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Richard Story, and other members, who had adopted their persuasion. The archbishop of York and the bishop of London, alarmed at this bold attack, made a voyage to Dublin, where they represented those Lollards as enemies both to church and state; they practised so effectually on the weak mind and jealous disposition of Richard, that he abandoned the fair prospect of reducing Ireland, and returned to England, with a view to crush those dangerous innovators. When he arrived they were threatened with death if they should persist in their errors; and the chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all those who were suspected of favouring their opinions.

This affair being settled, the attention of the king and council was employed upon an object of as great importance to the peace of the nation. The queen having died without issue, those who sincerely wished well to their country began to be uneasy about the succession: for though Richard, before his departure on the Irish expedition, is said to have declared Edmund Mortimer *, son of Roger earl of Marche, presumptive heir of the crown; had the king died without legitimate offspring, the kingdom would, in all probability, have been embroiled by the ambition of the dukes of Lancaster

Rymer.
Walsingh

Ambassadors are sent to demand the daughter of Charles king of France in marriage for Richard king of England

* He was the only son of Roger daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, Mortimer, son of Mortimer earl of third son of Edward III. Marche, who married Philippa, sole

A.C. 1395. and Gloucester. In order to prevent such civil dissensions, Richard was advised to engage in a second marriage; and the council casting their eyes upon Isabel, eldest daughter of the French king, as a suitable consort for the English monarch, the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of St. David's, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham, the lord Beaumont, and William Le Scroop, chamberlain of the household, were sent ambassadors to the court of France, to demand that princess in marriage to Richard: they were instructed to insist upon a considerable portion, and empowered to offer ten thousand marks a year for her jointure; and after this match should have been transacted, the other part of their commission was to effect a marriage between Isabel's younger sister and the earl of Rutland, whom Richard distinguished by his affection above all his other kinsmen.

Rymer.
Froissart.

The duke of
Lancaster
resigns the
duchy of
Guienne.

The next affair that fell under the consideration of the council, was a dispute between the duke of Lancaster and the natives of Guienne, from whom he had not met with that reception which was due to a sovereign. The prelates, nobility, and cities, had engaged in an association to treat him with deference and civility, as the brother of the Black Prince, and the uncle of king Richard; but without doing homage to him as their sovereign. He exerted all his artifice to prevail upon them to acknowledge his authority, in obedience to the patent of king Richard, and the sanction of the English parliament. He endeavoured to cajole them with promises of a mild administration, and other particular advantages; he overwhelmed the individuals with civility, and even tempted them with valuable presents. But they were proof against all his efforts; and, as he had not strength sufficient to compel them to a submission, the dispute was referred to the decision of the king and council. The cities

cities of Bourdeaux and Bayonne sent over deputies A. C. 1395. to solicit a repeal of the grant; and the duke employed John de Greilly, natural son of the famous Captal de Buche, as his agent at the court of England. Both parties were heard in a great council of the prelates and nobility, convoked at Sheen for that purpose. The official of Bourdeaux explained the privileges of the Gascons, with which this grant was incompatible; and represented, with such energy, the mischiefs that would accrue from it to the crown of England, that the hearers were convinced of the truth of what he alledged, and generally disposed to comply with the desire of his constituents. But the duke of Gloucester, who looked upon the presence of his brother as a check upon his own ambition, was very desirous of his being detained at a distance from England; and therefore opposed the remonstrance of the official with all his influence. He was seconded by his nephew the earl of Derby, who naturally espoused his father's cause; but, perceiving the other members were of a different opinion, he withdrew abruptly, on the supposition that they would not take any resolution in his absence. In this hope, however, he was disappointed; for, after he had retired, they spoke their sentiments with more freedom, and the king concurring with them in their deliberations, it was unanimously resolved, that the duke of Lancaster should be recalled. Richard accordingly sent for him to England, where he arrived the beginning of the next year, and resigned his grant of Guienne into the hands of his majesty.

Mean while the English ambassadors, arriving at Paris, explained the nature of their embassy; and Richard's proposal was debated in the French council. Some of the members suggested, that there was something inconsistent and unnatural in the proposition of such a marriage, before peace

*Interview
between the
kings of
France and
England.*

*Richard's
marriage.*

A. C. 1395. was concluded between the two nations ; but the duke of Burgundy was well affected to the scheme, which he observed was the most likely expedient to effect and consolidate an accommodation. Through his influence, the ambassadors met with a favourable reception from the ministry ; and though the alliance was strongly opposed by the dukes of Berry and Orleans, the king himself favoured the proposal, which was accepted accordingly. A treaty was immediately set on foot, and the articles being discussed by the plenipotentiaries, both kings at last agreed, that Richard should marry the princess Isabel, and receive with her a portion of eight hundred thousand franks in gold, at yearly payments : That he should make an absolute renunciation of all his claims to the crown of France, either from his own hereditary pretensions, or by virtue of this marriage : That the truce should be prolonged for five and twenty years ; and that the king of France should assist him with his whole power against his rebellious subjects. These points being ratified, the young princess, though still a child, was intitled queen of England, and affianced by the earl of Nottingham as Richard's proxy. Richard resolved to make a voyage to France, and wed the princess in person ; and, for that purpose, the greatest part of the summer was employed in making preparations for the ceremony. His marriage was not the only pretence he used for crossing the channel. He expressed a desire of examining, repairing, and improving the fortifications of Calais : but the real motive of his voyage was to concert measures with the French court, for surmounting all opposition in England ; and particularly for humbling the duke of Gloucester, whose pride and ambition were equally disagreeable and dangerous to Richard, and who had from the beginning of this negotiation, violently opposed the measure. Such was his popularity in
the

A. C. 1395.

the nation, and influence in the council, that the king would not venture to conclude the treaty without his concurrence; and signified to the French court, that he was inaccessible on every side, except that of avarice. When he attended Richard to France, the ministry of that kingdom caressed him with extraordinary civilities, and even tempted him with some valuable presents: but he saw thro' all this complaisance, for which he despised them in his heart; and treated their advances with such contempt, that the duke of Burgundy declared the match should not have been concluded but for the deference he payed to the personal character of the English monarch. Gloucester's aversion to this alliance proceeded partly from his own disappointed ambition, and partly from a regard to the interest of his country. He had proposed a marriage between Richard and his own daughter, which the king waved on pretence of consanguinity. He found that the rendition of Brest was one article of the treaty; and he dreaded the fate of Calais: yet these considerations gave way to what he conceived to be his own immediate interest. Richard, who was well acquainted with his disposition, promised to gratify him with a present of fifty thousand nobles on their return to England, and to bestow upon his son the earldom of Rochester, with an estate of two thousand pounds a year to maintain that dignity. Gloucester was caught by this magnificent bait. All his patriotism and resentment subsided; and he became perfectly reconciled to the treaty which he had so bitterly opposed. The two kings met under a magnificent pavilion between Ardres and Calais, each attended with four hundred followers in the nature of guards; and every thing was transacted to their mutual satisfaction. The ceremony of the marriage was performed at Calais by the archbishop of Canterbury: then Rich-

A. C. 1395. ard returned immediately to England with his bride, who had just attained the eighth year of her age; and, on the seventh day of January, her coronation was solemnized at Westminster with uncommon magnificence.

Rymer.
Froissart.

The duke of
Lancaster
marries Catherine
Swinford.

The town and castle of Brest had been conditionally put into the hands of the English, by the duke of Brittany, to be re-delivered whenever a long truce or treaty with France should be concluded: and now he claimed the requisition of Richard, who gave orders for its being surrendered accordingly. This step, which he could not have avoided with any regard to good faith and equity, was extremely unpopular in England; and Gloucester, by this time, finding himself the dupe of Richard, who had amused him with promises he never intended to perform, made it an handle for the gratification of his resentment, if not to pave the way for his own ambitious designs. He fomented the discontents of the people, who were already disgusted at the profusion of Richard, and the profligacy of his court; and exclaimed against the French alliance, and the rendition of Brest, as precludes to the loss of all that England possessed upon the continent. His resentment was the more dangerous to Richard, as he had now no rival in the council; for his brother the duke of Lancaster, who, since his last arrival in England, counterbalanced his influence, had lately lost all his credit with the council, and the nation in general, by marrying Catherine Swinford, an obscure foreigner, educated in the court of queen Philippa, who had been retained as governess to the duke's daughters by his first consort, and bore to him four illegitimate children: these were John, Henry, Thomas, and Jane, married first to Robert lord Ferrers, and afterwards to Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland. The duke's intention in this dishonourable match was,

was, in all probability, to render these children legitimate, for which purpose he obtained a bull from the pope, upon his marriage with their mother. This alliance gave great offence to all the princes of the blood and their wives, who could not bear the thought of yielding in precedency to a woman of low birth, who had been openly maintained as a concubine; and the duke himself was exposed to innumerable insults and affronts, which he bore patiently until his relations had exhausted the first transports of their indignation; but he gradually recovered all his former importance.

During this temporary eclipse of Lancaster, his brother Gloucester triumphed in his popularity, and exerted all his endeavours in preparing for a vigorous opposition in the ensuing parliament. He engaged in his party the earls of Arundel and Warwick, with the archbishop of Canterbury, who was brother to the earl of Arundel; and these associates deliberated on very dangerous and illegal methods for the reformation of the government. The earls of Derby and Nottingham were in some measure concerned in the opposition: but not so deeply engaged as the other four, who had actually resolved to redress the grievances of the nation by force of arms, and, according to some historians, to have kept the king in perpetual imprisonment. They had certainly acquired a very dangerous influence among the people, and seduced a great number of partisans, by the indefatigable pains they took to inveigh against the extravagance of the court, the levity of Richard's own character, the danger of losing Calais, and the taxes by which the nation was in a fair way of being utterly impoverished. Such insinuations had great effect upon the people in general, and upon the citizens of London in particular, who, with the magistrates of some other towns, waited upon the king at Sheen, and demanded

The duke of Gloucester forms an association against the ministry.

A.C. 1396.

manded an immediate abatement of the duties upon merchandize. Richard desired the dukes of Lancaster and York to tell them, that their remonstrance should be considered in a council which he would hold in a month at Westminster. The duke of Gloucester, who assisted at that assembly on purpose to countenance the petitioners, insisted upon the king's complying with their demands; but the rest of the members being of a different opinion, the duke of Lancaster, in the king's name, told them, that those duties had been laid with the consent of their representatives, and the deputies of all the good towns in the nation, for their common defence; that the king had indulged them with grants which would be recalled, should they behave themselves in a seditious manner; that the revenue of the crown was not so considerable as it had been in former times, and the expence much greater, arising from the war in Ireland, the late treaty and marriage, the queen's coronation, the defence of the ports and frontiers of the realm, the support of the garrisons in Calais and Guienne; and that after all these payments, the taxes in England were not so heavy as those of any other kingdom in Europe. The petitioners went away seemingly satisfied with this answer, to which indeed they could have found but little objection: but they were afterwards incensed by the conduct of Richard, who, finding the subsidies insufficient to support his extravagance, extorted loans from the trading towns and rich abbeys of the kingdom, without the least intention to refund the lenders.

Rymer.
Walsing.

A.C. 1397.

Haxe a
clergyman,
condemned
as a traitor,
for bringing
a certain bill
into parlia-
ment.

All the efforts of Gloucester and his confederates had not been able to prevent the court from securing a parliament that favoured the treaty, and the other measures which had been lately taken; and for that reason the duke and earl of Arundel would not assist in their deliberations; not but that there

was

was a spirit of opposition among the commons; for the session being opened on the twenty-second day of January, and a subsidy granted for the defence of the Scottish Marches, and the prosecution of the war in Ireland, a bill was brought into the house by one Haxey, a clergyman, complaining of the excessive number of prelates, ladies, and idle dependents, maintained at court, and petitioning that the charges of the household might be retrenched. The king, conscious of his own strength, resented this as an insult upon his dignity, and sent a message to the commons, importing that the bill contained certain articles intrenching upon his honour and prerogative, which he was resolved to maintain against all encroachment; he therefore insisted upon their delivering the bill to the lords, together with the name of the member who had presumed to bring it into the house. The commons intimidated by this lofty message, humbled themselves before his majesty in the most abject manner. They protested they had no intention to encroach upon his royal estate and liberty, especially with regard to his person, and the œconomy of his household; that they had no other design but that of prevailing upon the lords to advise him to consult the honour of his state in all his transactions, according to his own good pleasure; they therefore submitted themselves to his will and favour, and begged he would graciously excuse the freedom they had taken, professing themselves always ready to support his royal estate and dignity, and to perform, in body and goods, like loyal subjects, whatever should be for his honour and safety. Notwithstanding this piteous address, Richard insisted upon Haxey's being brought to trial before the lords, who condemned him to suffer death as a traitor. The sentence was no sooner known than the archbishop of Canterbury, at the head of the prelates,

A. C. 1397. prelates, presented himself before the king, and declaring that it ever was and should be their full resolution to maintain his royal estate and dignity without diminution, besought his majesty to spare the life of Haxey, and order him to be delivered into their custody, out of his special grace and favour. The king complied with this their humble request, and ordered the criminal to be delivered to the archbishop. The subsidy upon wool being continued, the king confirmed the dignity of earl mareschal to Thomas de Mowbray, and the heirs male of his body. John de Beaufort, natural son of Lancaster by Catherine Swinford, was created earl of Somerset: and Sir Robert Belknap, Sir John Holt, and Sir William Burgh, three of the judges who had been banished to Ireland for the opinions at Nottingham, were, by the assent of the lords and commons, allowed to return from exile.

Rot. Parl.

The duke of Gloucester is arrested and murdered at Calais,

After the parliament broke up, the duke of Gloucester and his associates prosecuted their intrigues with great success, in alienating the affections of the people from Richard: nor did they make any secret of their discontent; they and their partisans publicly declared that Richard was not fit to govern; that the spirit of the nation was quite broken by his mismanagement and pusillanimity; and that he ought to be immured for life, and pass his days in that indolence which had disgraced his administration. These proceedings were reported to the king with such exaggerations as alarmed that weak prince, who believed or seemed to believe, that his life was not secure from their machinations. His uterine brother John Holland earl of Huntingdon, who had been governor of Brest, employed emissaries to watch the conduct of the associates. He was a man of profligate morals, and a professed enemy of Gloucester, whose ruin he sought with the most eager industry; he therefore represented every

every thing against that nobleman in the most unfavourable light, to arouse his apprehension and inflame his resentment. These circumstances of intelligence Richard communicated to the dukes of Lancaster and York, who endeavoured to remove the jealousies subsisting between the king and their brother, by employing friendly remonstrances with both. Gloucester still professed the utmost veneration for the king's person, but insisted upon a change of measures. Richard attempted to engage his other two uncles in a violent prosecution against Gloucester: but they refused to be concerned in any scheme against the life of their own brother; and retired to their houses in the country, in order to avoid censure and suspicion. Their example was followed by Sir Thomas Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, who resigned his office of steward of the household, and withdrew from a court which was altogether abandoned to riot and indiscretion. Richard was now left entirely to the management of raw, unsteady, hot-headed counsellors, who persuaded him that there was no other way to prevent his own ruin, but that of effecting the speedy destruction of Gloucester; and this advice was seconded by the count of St. Pol, a French nobleman, who came over to visit the young queen of England. The duke was too powerful to be apprehended openly, and punished according to the forms of justice. All the people in the neighbourhood of Pleshy, where he lived, would have taken arms to defend him from violence; and Richard justly supposed that his two brothers would not tamely behold him sacrificed to suspicion or convenience: he therefore resolved to use a more effectual expedient, and take him off by private treachery. As he had always maintained the appearance of affection and familiarity with his uncle Gloucester, he made a pretence of hunting in Essex; and

A. C. 1397. in the evening visited the duke at Pleshy, where he was received with the most cordial hospitality, both by his uncle and the dutchess. While they sat at supper, he told the duke that he wanted to consult him on some very important affair relating to the state, and desired he would accompany him to London, where a council should be called in the morning. The unsuspecting duke cheerfully complied with his desire, and set out with the king on horseback, attended by four or five domestics. As they approached Epping-Forest Richard rode off at full gallop; and Gloucester was immediately surrounded by armed men, who conveyed him to the river, and put him on board of a ship which weighed anchor immediately, and arrived next day at Calais. The duke's associates the earls of Arundel, Warwick, lord Cobham, Sir John Cheney, and other persons of distinction, who had also been invited to the council, were the next day arrested at London. Lest these proceedings should create some disturbance among the people, a proclamation was issued, declaring that the lords were arrested upon fresh matter of treason laid to their charge: and that they should be tried by a great council of their peers, which was summoned to meet on the first day of August at Nottingham. There they accordingly met at the time appointed; when an appeal for treason was brought against the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, by the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerset, Salisbury, the lord Spenser, and William Scroop chamberlain of the household. The bill being read and considered, the appealed lords were indulged with time till the fourteenth day of September, to prepare answers to the articles of their impeachment in parliament. But it was not Richard's intention to allow Gloucester the privilege of a trial. He had sent Sir William Rickhill,

hill, one of the justices of the common-pleas, with a commission to examine the duke at Calais, hoping that this artful lawyer would have extracted a confession of treasonable practices from the duke, by tampering with the heat and impatience of his temper. But, as he acknowledged nothing that amounted to treason, Richard ordered the earl of Nottingham, who was governor of Calais, to give directions for his being privately murdered. These directions were executed by four assassins, called Hall, Lovetoft, Serle, and Frances, who conveyed the duke from the castle of Calais to a public inn, where he was informed of his destiny, in which he acquiesced without emotion, and was smothered between two feather-beds on a pallet: then they stripped the body; and laying it under the bed-cloaths, pretended that he died in the night of an apoplexy. Thus died Thomas duke of Wodestoke Gloucester, who possessed many virtues, with an alloy of weakness and human infirmity, to which he fell a sacrifice. He was brave, open, sincere, and a well-wisher to his country; but withal passionate, turbulent, ambitious of power, and fond of popularity; failings by which he entailed upon himself the suspicion of the king, and the hatred of the nobility, while he acquired unbounded influence among the people, by whom he was revered almost to idolatry: no wonder then that the whole nation was alarmed at the news of his untimely fate. The dukes of Lancaster and York breathed nothing but revenge, and with a small body of forces hastened up to London, where they were received with open arms by the citizens; and Lancaster resolved to send for succours from Portugal and Castile. In the mean time, however, they found themselves anticipated by the vigilance and foresight of Richard and his counsellors, who had reinforced his guards with ten thousand archers; and expended the

A. C. 1397. the sums of money which he had received by loan and subsidy, in securing a majority in the ensuing parliament. Knowing that the duke of York implicitly followed the advice of Lancaster, and that this last was open to flattery and ambition, he employed his favourite Rutland to dissuade his uncles from all opposition; and that young nobleman succeeded in his negotiation. He expatiated upon the calamities of civil war; insinuated that Richard would be obliged to have recourse to the assistance of his father-in-law the French king, who might, on pretence of supporting him, enslave the country: he observed, that, though Gloucester's fate was lamentable, it could not now be recalled; assured them that the king remembered it with unfeigned sorrow and contrition; and finally promised, in his majesty's name, that if they would lay aside all schemes of resentment, and consent to an hearty reconciliation with the king, they should preside in his councils, and wholly direct him in all his future conduct. The dukes yielded to this remonstrance, dismissed their adherents, and all disputes between the king and them were for the present compromised.

Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury is impeached in parliament, and convicted of high treason.

The parliament meeting at Westminster in the middle of September, Sir John Busby, a creature of the court, was, at the king's recommendation, chosen speaker, after he, with Sir William Bagot and Sir Henry Green, had undertaken to manage all the prosecutions which had been previously planned against the lords of the opposition. The session began with the consideration of a bill, enacting that holy church, the lords spiritual and temporal, all cities, boroughs, and commonalties of the realm, should enjoy their liberties and franchises as they had been enjoyed under his majesty's royal progenitors kings of England. This law being passed, the commons moved, that whereas
several

several judgments had been reversed, because the clergy had not assisted at the trial, they should now appoint a general proctor, empowered to act for them in their absence : Sir Thomas Piercy was accordingly appointed for this purpose, by the two archbishops and their clergy. Then the commission and statute, made in the eleventh year of this reign, was repealed, as being traitorously obtained by constraint and compulsion, against the king's will, and to the prejudice of his crown and dignity. It was ordained that no such commission should take place for the future; and that all persons endeavouring to procure any such instrument, should suffer as traitors : the pardons granted to the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, in the eleventh year of the king's reign, as well as that afterwards passed in favour of Arundel at Windsor, in the seventeenth year of his majesty's reign, were revoked and annulled, as having been obtained by compulsion. After these preliminary resolutions, the commons protested to the king in full parliament, that it was their intention, with his majesty's leave, to impeach any person or persons as often as they should think proper, during the session of this parliament; and their protest was accepted and enrolled. This step being taken, they impeached Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury of high-treason, for having been aiding, procuring, and advising, in making a commission directed to Thomas duke of Gloucester, Richard earl of Arundel, and others, in the tenth year of his majesty's reign; which commission was made in prejudice of the king, his crown, and dignity. He was likewise accused of having advised the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to assume the royal power, and arrest the king's lieges Simon Burley and James Berners, whom they adjudged to death, contrary to the
the

A. C. 1397. the will of his majesty. The commons petitioned that the king would order the said Thomas to be put in safe custody; and the king replied, that as the impeachment affected a peer of the realm, he would advise with his council on the subject. They afterwards demanded judgment against the archbishop, who acknowledged in the king's presence that he had been mistaken, and erred in his conduct relating to that commission; and therefore submitted to his majesty's mercy. He was declared a traitor, and condemned to perpetual banishment; his temporalities were seized, his goods and chattels forfeited, and he himself was ordered to quit the kingdom in six weeks after the sentence was pronounced. This prelate had been cajoled by the king, who assured him in private, that if he would confess the charge, and make no defence in parliament, he should have his majesty's pardon, and nothing would be done to his prejudice. But after he was condemned unheard in his absence, the king, far from performing his promise, solicited and obtained his deprivation from the pope, who, at Richard's desire, nominated Roger Walden the king's treasurer to fill up the vacant bishopric.

Rot. Parl.
Walsing.

The earls of
Arundel and
Warwick,
and others,
are prosecuted
in the
same man-
ner.

The archbishop's trial being finished, the lords appellants exhibited their bill of impeachment against the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and Thomas Mortimer, accusing them of having procured the aforesaid commission; of having taken up arms against his majesty; of having effected the death and imprisonment of several liege subjects; and of having conspired to depose the king, who in all probability would have fallen a sacrifice to their treason, had not they been restrained from executing their scheme, by the remonstrances of Henry of Lancaster earl of Derby, and Thomas Mowbray earl of Nottingham. The duke of Lancaster being appointed lord high-

stew-

Steward, the earl of Arundel was brought to his trial ; A. C. 1397.
 and the appeal being read in his hearing, he pleaded
 his general pardon granted by the king and confirm-
 ed by the parliament. But this having been already
 repealed in the present session, he was found guilty
 of high-treason, condemned to be hanged, drawn,
 and quartered, and all his estate, real and personal,
 was forfeited to the king's use ; yet the sentence
 was mitigated into simple decapitation. The duke
 of Gloucester, though dead, was declared a traitor
 to his king and country, his estate forfeited, and
 his blood attainted. Then the appellants petiti-
 oned that his confession might be read in full par-
 liament; and Sir William Rickhill produced a paper
 signed by the king's own hand, in which he ac-
 knowledged that he had been guilty of divers in-
 discreet actions, and offered several insults to his
 majesty, whom he had also slandered in the heat and
 precipitation of his passion ; but at the same time
 declared upon his soul, that he had never enter-
 tained one thought to the prejudice of his royal
 dignity. Thomas earl of Warwick being brought
 by the constable of the Tower into parliament,
 was by the steward made acquainted with the na-
 ture of the appeal which had been lodged against
 him ; and he pleading guilty, and throwing him-
 self on the king's mercy, was subjected to the same
 sentence which had been pronounced against the
 earl of Arundel ; but the king changed the punish-
 ment into perpetual exile and confinement in the
 isle of Man ; with this proviso, that if any means
 should be used for his escape, the sentence of the
 lord high-steward should be executed without any
 further examination. Thomas Mortimer having
 fled into Ireland, and taken refuge in the moun-
 tains among the rebellious natives, a proclamation
 was issued through that kingdom, requiring him
 to appear within three months, and answer to the

A. C. 1397. impeachment; otherwise he was declared a traitor, and all his estate forfeited.

Acts of
grace and
promotions.

After these severe proscriptions, which reflected disgrace upon the whole parliament, and particularly upon the dukes of Lancaster and York, and the earl of Derby, who acted so officiously against their nearest relations and former confederates, the commons interceded with the king in behalf of the lords and bishops, who had been named in the commission passed in the tenth year of his reign, without procuring or acting in the execution thereof. These were the duke of York, the bishop of Winchester, and Sir Richard Le Scroope, whose loyalty and innocence were now acknowledged by a statute enacted in full parliament. The commons likewise besought his majesty, that he would consider the services of Henry of Lancaster earl of Derby, and Thomas de Mowbray earl of Nottingham, who had expressly hindered the rebellious lords from seizing the person of the king, renounced their society, and given intimation of their traitorous intent. The commons recommended these noblemen in a special manner to his majesty's favour, and requested that he would publicly declare in parliament their good fame and loyal behaviour. Richard, sitting upon his throne, complied with their desire, declaring that, to his own knowledge, the earls of Derby and Nottingham were good and faithful subjects; and it was voted that this declaration should have the force of a statute. All these transactions were closed with some acts of the king's munificence, calculated to attach certain noblemen the more strongly to his interest. The earl of Derby was created duke of Hereford, the earl of Rutland made duke of Albemarle; Thomas Holland earl of Kent was promoted to the dukedom of Surrey; his brother John earl of Huntingdon to that of Exeter; and Thomas Mowbray earl of Nottingham

tingham was declared duke of Norfolk. The earldom of Somerset and marquissate of Dorset were conferred upon John Beaufort; Thomas lord Spencer was created earl of Gloucester, Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Piercy earl of Worcester, and William Le Scroope earl of Wiltshire. These promotions being made, the parliament was adjourned to the twenty-seventh day of January, when it was required to meet at Shrewsbury: but before the members withdrew from London, the lords spiritual and temporal, together with the knights of shires, swore solemnly before the shrine of St. Edward in Westminster-Abbey, that they would maintain all the statutes, establishments, ordinances, and judgments, enacted and given in this parliament, without suffering them to be revoked, reversed, or annulled, saving to the king his right and royalty. Then the king, accompanied by the lords spiritual and temporal, proceeded to the high altar, where the prelates and ordinaries of the provinces of Canterbury and York pronounced the sentence of the greater excommunication against all who should openly or privately, by deed or counsel, contravene or oppose the statutes and regulations which the parliament had enacted and sworn to maintain, saving still the king's royalty and prerogative.

Rot. Parl.
Tyrrel,

The earl of Arundel was beheaded on Tower-Hill, and died with great resolution, in presence of the king and the earls of Kent and Nottingham, who expressing an unmanly and inhuman pleasure at his fate, "My lord," said he, with great deliberation to Nottingham, who was his son-in-law, it "would have better become you to be absent upon such an occasion. You seem to triumph at my suffering; but perhaps the day will come, when your own misfortune will furnish the like triumph to your enemies." Nothing could be

The earl of
Arundel is
beheaded.

A. C. 1397. more unpopular than the execution of this nobleman, who possessed many valuable qualities, had served with great success against the enemy, and always asserted the liberties of the people, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. They looked upon him as a martyr to their cause; and their regard soon rose to superstitious veneration: they reported that his head was miraculously rejoined to the body, from which it had been severed; and great numbers of people performed a pilgrimage to his tomb. These circumstances disturbed the weak mind of Richard, who, in order to undeceive the multitude, ordered the body to be disinterred and exposed to public view; but the votaries would not trust the evidence of their own senses, and continued their adoration: so that the king found it necessary to order the Augustin friars of London, in whose church he was buried, to take down his scutcheon, and conceal the grave with a new pavement. Whether Richard felt remorse for having taken away the life of Arundel, or those reports touching his sanctity made an impression upon his fancy, the apparition of that nobleman haunted his imagination, insomuch that he could not for some time enjoy his natural repose, but started from his slumber with horror and affright. Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick did not behave on his trial with that courage which distinguished the deportment of Arundel; he confessed himself a traitor in the most abject terms, shed a flood of tears, and sued for mercy in such a manner, as must have excited the contempt as well as the compassion of Richard, who granted his life, because he had nothing to fear from his resentment or capacity. As nothing appeared against the lord Cobham, but that he had been appointed by parliament one of the eleven commissioners in the tenth year of his majesty's reign, his punishment was limited to simple exile.

Froissart.
Walsing.

When

When the parliament met again at Shrewsbury on the twenty-seventh day of January, the chancellor having opened the session with a speech to the usual purport, desired they would take into consideration the supplies that would be necessary for the defence of England, Ireland, Guienne, the Marches of Wales, and the borders of Scotland, in case the truce should not be prolonged. Then the dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the marquis of Dorset, the earls of Salisbury, Gloucester, and Wiltshire, as lords appellants, petitioned that the proceedings in the parliament of the eleventh year of his majesty's reign, against the judges who had given their opinions at Nottingham, should be repealed. The questions and answers there made, being now read publicly before the estates of parliament, they unanimously declared that the said answers were good and lawful; and all the judges protested, that had the same questions been submitted to their consideration, they would have answered them to the same effect. A statute was therefore enacted, annulling the parliament holden in the eleventh year of his majesty's reign; and all the judgments, statutes, and ordinances, made in that assembly, were reversed and repealed. John Bussy the speaker, observing that many ordinances and statutes made in different parliaments had been occasionally reversed, petitioned the king, in the name of the commons, that the ordinances and judgments of this might be established with all possible security. Richard advised with the lords spiritual and temporal, as well as with the justices and lawyers, on the subject of this petition; and they unanimously declared there could be no greater security than the authority of parliament, which, however was enforced by the renewal of the oath taken by the lords and commons, to support and maintain the proceedings of the session. Those af-

A. C. 1398.

Proceedings
of the par-
liament, at
Shrewsbury.

A. C. 1398
airs of importance being dispatched, Thomas le D'Espenser petitioned that the sentence of exile and disherison, pronounced against his grandfather and great grandfather, which had been repealed in the fifteenth year of the reign of Edward II. and afterwards renewed under Edward III. should now be repealed a second time, for the causes specified in the former repeal. The sentence was accordingly once more reversed; tho' in the succeeding reign of Henry IV. this favour was again annulled. The parliaments had made a practice, during the reigns of weak princes, of reversing the decrees of each other, according to the prevalence of interest in the court or opposition. On the last day of the session, the duke of Hereford falling upon his knees before the king, acknowledged that he had been concerned in many disturbances and meetings, contrary to the peace of the kingdom, and his majesty's royalty, though not with any intention to injure his sovereign; but as he now understood they were offences, he begged pardon with great humility, and hoped he should obtain his majesty's forgiveness. Richard graciously accepted of his acknowledgment, pardoned him in full parliament for any offence he might have committed, and promised him his particular favour and protection. Then the parliament granted a more ample subsidy than had ever been given to his grandfather, desiring he would be pleased to bestow a certain sum of money upon those who had been plundered at Radcot-Bridge, and defray the expences of the lords appellants. A general pardon was granted for past offences in favour of all the king's subjects: tho' with a clause which excluded from the benefit of this amnesty fifty persons, whose names were not expressed, but reserved to the particular knowledge and pleasure of the king, who might nominate them occasionally: so that no man in England could

could assure himself that he was not excepted. As many private petitions had not been answered, and a good deal of business left undone, the commons petitioned that the king would empower a committee of lords and others, whom they named for that purpose, to dispatch those affairs that were left unfinished; and his majesty complying with their request, the whole authority of parliament devolved upon the king, twelve peers, and six commoners *, As the Cheshire men had been staunch to the king in all his late transactions, he erected that county into a principality; and to his own titles added that of prince of Chester. He was so intent upon rendering the decrees of this parliament perpetual and irrevocable, that he afterwards procured a bull from the pope, containing dreadful anathemas against all who should presume to oppose or reverse these transactions: and this was solemnly published at Paul's Cross, and other places of resort through the whole kingdom.

A. C. 1398.

Rot. Parl.
Brady.
Tyriel.

The first object that fell under the consideration of the committee was a charge exhibited against the duke of Norfolk by Henry duke of Hereford, who taxed him with having spoken seditious words against his majesty, in a private conversation between Brentford and London. A paper, containing the substance of this conversation, being read before the king and the lords in parliament, it was referred to the committee; and after much debate and examination of the accused, who denied the charge, the king and the said committee decreed, that, for want of sufficient proof, the dispute should be de-

Quarrel between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, who are banished.

* These were John duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of York, Edward duke of Albemarle, Thomas duke of Surrey, John duke of Exeter, John marquis of Dorset, Roger earl of March, John earl of Salisbury, Henry earl of Northumberland, Thomas earl of Gloucester, Thomas earl of Winchester, and William earl of Wiltshire, John Bussey, Henry Green, John Ruf-
fel, Henry Chelmswicke, Robert Tey, and John Golofre, knights.

A. C. 1398. cided by single combat, according to the laws of chivalry. The twenty-ninth day of April was fixed for the duel, and the lists were appointed at Coventry, to which place the king repaired, accompanied by all his peers, and created the duke of Albemarle high constable, and the duke of Surrey lord marshal for the occasion. Hereford the challenger first appeared on a white courser gayly caparisoned, and armed cap-a-pee, with his drawn sword in his hand. When he approached the lists, the marshal demanded who he was? and he answered, "I am Henry of Lancaster duke of Hereford, come hither according to my duty, against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, a false traitor to God, the king, the realm, and me." Then taking the oath that his quarrel was just and true, he desired to enter the lists, which being granted, he sheathed his sword, pulled down his beaver, crossed himself on the forehead, seized his lance, passed the barrier, alighted, and sat down in a chair of green velvet placed at one end of the lists. He had scarce taken his seat when the king came into the field with great pomp, attended by the peers, the count of St. Pol, who came from France on purpose to see this famous trial, and ten thousand men at arms, to prevent tumults and disturbance. His majesty, being seated in his chair of state, the king at arms proclaimed, that none but such as were appointed to marshal the field, should presume to touch the lists on pain of death. Then another herald pronounced aloud, "Behold here Henry of Lancaster duke of Hereford, who has entered the lists to perform his devoir, against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk, on pain of being counted false and recreant." The duke of Norfolk immediately appeared in arms, mounted upon a barbed horse, with a coat of arms of crimson velvet embroidered with lions of silver, and mul-

mulberry trees; and, having taken his oath before the constable and mareschal, entered the field, exclaiming aloud, "God defend the right." Alighting from his horse, he placed himself in a chair of crimson velvet, opposite to his antagonist, at the other end of the lists. Then the mareschal, having measured their lances, delivered one to the challenger, and sent a knight with the other to the duke of Norfolk, and proclamation was made that they should prepare for the combat. They immediately mounted their horses, closed their beavers, fixed their lances in the rests, and, the trumpets sounding a charge, the duke of Hereford began his career with great violence; but, before he could join his antagonist, the king threw down his warder, and the heralds interposed. Richard ordered their lances to be taken away, and they returned to their chairs, while the king retired to council, where their doom was determined without bloodshed. Sir John Bouray returned to the field at the king's command; and, silence being enjoined by proclamation, pronounced their sentence to this effect: That forasmuch as the appellant and defendant had honourably appeared in the lists, ready and even forward to engage in single combat, their courage was sufficiently ascertained; and the king, in order to prevent the effusion of christian blood, had decreed, with the advice of his council and committee of parliament, that Henry duke of Hereford should, within fifteen days depart the kingdom, and go into exile for the space of ten years, on pain of death; that the duke of Norfolk should be banished for life, because he had not been able to clear himself of the imputation of having spoken seditious words against his majesty; and that all his revenues should be sequestred, until the king should be reimbursed in all the sums which Mowbray had embezzled, on pretence of paying the garrison of Calais.

A. C. 1398. Calais. Then proclamation was made, that no person should presume to intercede with the king in behalf of each party, on pain of incurring his majesty's displeasure; and the dukes were obliged to promise upon oath, that they would never meet willingly, nor maintain the least intercourse in foreign countries, nor carry on any sort of correspondence with Thomas Arundel late archbishop of Canterbury.

Placit. Cor.
in Parl.

The duke of
Hereford re-
tires to
Paris.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the arbitrary disposition of the king and his committee than this sentence, by which the duke of Hereford was driven into exile without having been charged with any offence, and perpetual banishment inflicted upon Thomas Mowbray, who had appealed to the only trial by which his innocence could be manifested, if not sufficiently ascertained, by his accuser's failing to convict him by legal evidence. There was something mean and perfidious in Hereford's betraying the particulars of a private conversation, which appears to have contained nothing dangerous to the state or the sovereign. He in all probability considered Mowbray as his rival in interest, consequently a troublesome bar to the execution of that scheme he had projected; and perhaps he longed for an opportunity to revenge the murder of his uncle Gloucester, in which the duke of Norfolk was principally concerned. Richard dreaded both equally, as noblemen of dangerous power and ambition, and was glad of a pretence for expelling Mowbray from the kingdom; but that he should venture to banish Hereford, without any cause assigned, is a very extraordinary circumstance; and that his own father the duke of Lancaster should tamely acquiesce in the sentence, is still more surprising. By this time, the spirit of that nobleman seemed to have been evaporated with the vigour of his youth; for he complied with every

measure the king proposed, and suffered himself to be made a tool, for effecting the ruin of his own family. The duke of Norfolk was overwhelmed with grief and despondence at the judgment which was awarded against him. He retired to Germany, from whence he repaired to Venice, where in a little time he died of sorrow and chagrin. Hereford on the contrary bore his fate with great resignation, and behaved with such respectful submission, when he went to take his leave of the king at Eltham, that Richard, pleased with his deportment, remitted four years of his exile. He withdrew to Paris, where he met with a favourable reception from the French king, and in all probability would have married the only daughter of the duke of Berry, had not the match been defeated by the interposition of Richard, who sent the earl of Salisbury as his ambassador to represent Hereford as a person who had been guilty of treasonable practices; and to assure the French court that he would never be permitted to return to his own country. The princes of the blood, alarmed at this declaration, broke off the match abruptly, and, when Hereford expostulated with them on the subject, made him acquainted with their reasons for retracting the assent they had already given to his proposal. Such an injury could not fail to aggravate the resentment of the duke against Richard, which he had hitherto concealed, and in all likelihood confirmed him in his design upon the crown of England. No man could be better qualified for the execution of a project of this nature than Henry of Lancaster: he was cool, cautious, discerning, and resolute; he had distinguished himself by his courage both at home and abroad; he was the idol of the soldiers, and the minion of the people; he was immensely rich, and by blood or alliance connected with all the noblemen in England. The multitude not only
mur-

A. C. 1398. murmured, but loudly exclaimed against the sentence of banishment which had been denounced against him, and they ardently wished for an opportunity of enlisting under his banner. It was not long before they were gratified in this particular.

A. C. 1399. John duke of Lancaster dying in February, his son the duke of Hereford ought to have succeeded to his titles and estate, by virtue of his hereditary right, as well as of the letters patent which he had obtained even after the sentence at Coventry. These impowered him to sue in his absence by his attorney; so as that he might have livery of any lands descending to him by right of inheritance. Richard, notwithstanding this privilege, which he himself had granted, was so startled at the prospect of this great addition to the power and influence of Hereford, whom he had lately provoked, and so strongly allured by the opulence of the succession, that he resolved to intercept it for his own benefit. The committee of parliament being tutored to his wish, assembled at Westminster, where they declared those letters contrary to law, and revoked them accordingly. The estate of the duke of Lancaster was seized for the king's use; Henry Bowet, who had sued as attorney in behalf of the duke of Hereford, being brought before the committee at Windsor, was, for having acted according to the duty of his profession, convicted of treason, and sentenced to be drawn, hanged, beheaded, and quartered; but he was pardoned in consideration of his being the king's chaplain.

Placit. Parl.

Richard's
arbitrary
conduct.

This transaction was so unjust and arbitrary, that Richard must have laid aside all intention to keep measures with his people, and laid his account with being exposed to the resentment of Hereford, before he ventured to give it the sanction of his authority. By the death of his uncle, he thought himself freed from all restraint: he plunged into

all

all manner of effeminate debauchery and profligate profusion, and took the most unjustifiable methods to raise money for the support of his extravagance. Over and above the great subsidies granted by a corrupt parliament, he extorted loans under the name of Benevolence; he trumped up a charge of high treason against seventeen counties for having sided with the duke of Gloucester and the lords of the opposition; and, notwithstanding the pardon which had been confirmed in parliament, threatened to spoil and destroy them as public enemies, unless they would submit wholly to his pleasure: so that the inhabitants were obliged to redeem their lives and estates with exorbitant sums of money, by the payment of which they were utterly impoverished. He imposed new oaths upon the sheriffs of counties, by which they bound themselves to obey him in all his arbitrary and illegal commands: the garisons abroad were neglected: the northern counties ruined by the incursions of the Scots, whom he had not spirit enough to repel: the native Irish made great progress in wresting their antient possessions from the hands of the English: no care was taken to protect the trade of the nation: the government was despised abroad, and insulted at home: and universal disaffection prevailed against the king and his ministry. The people naturally turned their eyes upon the duke of Lancaster, as the only person from whom they could hope for redress. He was a prince of the royal blood, distinguished by his great talents, beloved by the English in general, and stimulated by injuries against Richard, whose person they contemned, and whose sway they detested. The malcontents, among the nobility and gentry, made private overtures to the duke of Lancaster, residing in France, soliciting him to return speedily to England, and head the opposition; in which case they would sup-

A. C. 1399.

Froissart.

ply him with a powerful army, and hazard their lives and fortunes in his service. Though the duke was perfectly well pleased with these advances, he received them at first with great caution, until he had no longer any reason to doubt the sincerity of those by whom he was addressed; and he was confirmed in his purpose by the remonstrances of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, who visited him in the disguise of a friar's habit, and persuaded him that the people of England would unanimously espouse his cause against Richard. Thus assured, he resolved to embrace the first opportunity of landing in England; and this was soon furnished by the king's impolitic conduct.

His expedition to Ireland.

The earl of Marche, presumptive heir of the crown, having been appointed the king's lieutenant in Ireland, was slain in a skirmish by the native Irish; and Richard was so exasperated at the fate of his kinsman, that he determined to revenge his death in person. With this view he assembled a numerous army, which was enlisted, payed, and accommodated, by means of such illegal exactions and oppression as completed the disgust of the nation. About Whitsuntide he proceeded to Bristol, in order to embark, and was attended by the dukes of Albemarle and Exeter, with several other noblemen, including the sons of Lancaster and Gloucester, whom he detained as hostages for the quiet of the kingdom in his absence, during which he appointed the duke of York guardian of England. While he tarried at Bristol for a favourable wind, he sent a pursuivant to the earl of Northumberland, commanding him to join him immediately with all the forces he could raise; but that nobleman excused himself from engaging in the expedition, on pretence of his being obliged to defend the Scottish Marches. Richard, affronted at his refusal, proclaimed the earl and all his adherents traitors, and ordered

ordered his estates to be seized for the benefit of the royal treasury. This imprudent step furnished Northumberland with a specious pretext for renouncing his allegiance, and perhaps provoked him to a revolt, in which he would not otherwise have engaged. The king landing with his forces at Waterford, marched immediately against the Irish of Ulster, over whom he obtained several advantages ; insomuch that many of their petty princes, intimidated by the fame of his arms, sued for peace, and he was in a fair way of making an intire conquest of that kingdom, when he was recalled by an affair that much more nearly concerned his interest.

A. C. 1399.

Tyrrel.

Ann. Hib.

The duke of Lancaster being informed of Richard's departure from England, sent over some trusty emissaries to make his friends acquainted with his intention, that they might be prepared to receive him at his landing ; and, knowing the French king was averse to his scheme, desired that monarch would favour him with a safe-conduct to Brittany, where he wanted to visit the duke, who was his kinsman. This being readily granted, he set out for Nantes, where he hired three small vessels, and embarked with the archbishop of Canterbury, that prelate's nephew the son and heir of the late earl of Arundel, lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Erpington, Sir Thomas Ramstone, and a retinue of about fourscore persons. After having cruized along the coasts, and touched at several places, in order to discover the inclinations of the people, he at length landed at Ravenspurre in Yorkshire, pretending that his sole aim was to recover his rightful inheritance, which the king unlawfully detained ; and there he was joined by the lords Willoughby, Ross, Darcy, and Beaumont. Then he proceeded to Doncaster, where his cause was espoused by the earl of Northumberland and his son Hotspur, the earl

Henry duke
of Lancaster
lands in
England.

A. C. 1399. earl of Westmoreland, and many gentlemen, attended by a numerous body of vassals and adherents. The duke of York no sooner received intelligence of his arrival, than he summoned the warlike bishop of Chester, the lord chancellor Scrope, the earl of Wiltshire lord treasurer, Sir John Buffy, Sir Henry Green, Sir William Bagot, and Sir John Russel, to meet in London, and concert measures for the defence of the kingdom; and there they resolved to assemble the military tenants of the crown with all expedition, appointing the rendezvous at St. Alban's. Thither they resorted in great numbers; but the majority refused to serve against the duke of Lancaster, who, they publicly affirmed, had been unjustly banished and deprived of his lawful inheritance. They had another motive equally strong, for refusing their assistance on this occasion: they could not bear the presence of the earl of Wiltshire, Buffy, Green, and Bagot, who farmed the revenues of the whole kingdom; and were universally detested as monsters of iniquity and corruption, who had perverted the mind of Richard by their pernicious counsel. Many people who had assembled at St. Alban's, and were well disposed towards the king, retired at the sight of these four unpopular ministers; who, seeing York in danger of being wholly abandoned, fled with precipitation to Bristol, in order to embark for Ireland. The duke of York, finding it impossible to resist the torrent of Lancaster's popularity, broke his staff of office, and laid aside all thoughts of opposition: then all the rest of the nobility either declared openly for the duke of Lancaster, or held private correspondence with him and his adherents. His followers by this time amounted to three score thousand fighting men; and, in his march towards the capital, far from meeting with any interruption, he was favoured by every

every country through which he passed, and received in London with all the marks of triumph and exultation. A. C. 1399.

After having secured the city in his interest, he directed his march towards Bristol, where he had reason to believe he should meet with the greatest resistance. When he arrived at Evesham, he understood his uncle York was at Berkeley-Castle in Gloucestershire, with a body of forces, which he had raised in order to join Richard at his landing from Ireland: Lancaster, advancing towards his quarters, invited him to a conference; and they had an interview in the church, where matters were compromised, and the guardian joined his nephew. Then they passed quietly along, and every place and person submitted to them, until they came before the castle of Bristol; which was well fortified and provided for a siege, the garrison being commanded by Sir Peter Courteney, under the direction of the earl of Wiltshire, accompanied by Sir John Bussy and Sir Henry Green, who had fled thither from St. Alban's. He forthwith invested the place; and repeated his assaults with such vigour, that in four days the besieged were fain to surrender at discretion. The earl of Wiltshire and his two companions were that same day beheaded, at the importunate desire of the people; but Sir William Bagot had escaped to Chester, where he embarked for Ireland, and was the first person who made the king acquainted with the descent and proceedings of Lancaster. Richard is said to have slighted these tidings at first, until he was stimulated by the exhortations of the noblemen who attended him in the Irish expedition. The earl of Salisbury was sent over to raise an army in Wales, and the king promised to follow him in six days: but he was detained much longer by frivolous delays in the embarkation of his troops; and these

He takes the castle of Bristol, and orders the earl of Wiltshire, Green, and Bussy, to be put to death.

Walsing.
Froissart.
Ch. Otterb.
Rymer.

A.C. 1399. delays proved the destruction of his affairs. Salisbury met with such success in his levies, that in a few days he was at the head of forty thousand men : but as the king did not arrive at the appointed time, they began to murmur, and were with great difficulty persuaded to wait for him a few days beyond the time he had fixed for his return ; but that being expired, they concluded he had met with some disaster ; and dispersing, retired to their own habitations.

Richard re-
turns from
Ireland.

At length the king, having committed the sons of Gloucester and Lancaster close prisoners to the castle of Trim, embarked for England with his forces ; and, landing at Milford-Haven, proceeded to Caermarthen, where he received a particular detail of his own misfortune. He understood that the troops assembled by Salisbury were disbanded and dispersed ; that almost all his castles, from the borders of Scotland to the Marches of Wales, had surrendered to the duke of Lancaster ; that the city of London had declared in his favour ; that he was supported by the principal nobility of the kingdom ; that the duke of York had joined him with the forces he had raised to oppose his progress ; and that his favourites had lost their lives at Bristol. This concurrence of disastrous circumstances quite overwhelmed the weak mind of Richard, who abandoned himself to womanish complaints and despondence. In vain did his faithful Cheshiremen endeavour to raise his drooping spirits, by assuring him they would spend the last drop of their blood in his service. His courage was quite dissipated : he durst not venture a battle against the duke of Lancaster, whose army was increased to an hundred thousand fighting men, commanded by experienced officers. The earl of Salisbury advised him to embark for Bourdeaux ; and the bishop of Carlisle, with Sir Stephen Scrope, were of the same opinion :

opinion: but their advice was over-ruled by his uterine brother John Holland duke of Exeter, at whose persuasion he stole away in the night from his forces, and repaired with about twenty attendants to Conway Castle. From thence lord Thomas Piercy, steward of the household, withdrew, after having publicly broke his staff of office in the castle-hall, and joined his brother the earl of Northumberland, who was the chief counsellor and confident of Henry duke of Lancaster. The duke of Albemarle, who, as constable of England, commanded Richard's little army, was no sooner informed of the king's retreat, than he dismissed the troops, and repaired to his father York, whom the duke of Lancaster had left at Bristol. After the reduction of that fortress, he marched to Gloucester, and from thence to Ross and Hereford, where he was joined by the bishop of that see and Sir Edmund Mortimer. He next visited Leymster, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury, where he received tenders of service from all the noblemen in the neighbourhood, and a deputation from Chester, to which place he repaired. From thence he dispatched an express to Ireland, for the release of his own son, and the heir of the late duke of Gloucester, who had been imprisoned by Richard: the governor of the castle of Trim durst not refuse to set them at liberty; and Lancaster's son came over immediately to his father at Chester, but his cousin, embarking on board of another vessel, had the misfortune to be drowned.

Mean while king Richard, being bereft of all assistance and salutary advice, and distracted by a thousand fears, in the castle of Conway, sent his brother the duke of Exeter to treat with the duke of Lancaster about an accommodation, and the duke of Surrey obtained leave to accompany him in this embassy; which, however, proved very

A. C. 1399. unfortunate, for they were both detained as prisoners at Chester. The duke of Lancaster having consulted with his two chief confidants, the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Northumberland, about the means for preventing the king from leaving the realm by sea, which was still open for his escape, sent the earl to amuse him with promises, and, if possible, to bring him off by stratagem from the castle of Conway. Northumberland, advancing to the river of Conway, sent an herald to Richard, desiring a safe-conduct for himself only; which being granted, he went to the castle, and being admitted into the king's presence, demanded, in the name of the duke of Lancaster, that a parliament should be immediately summoned to reverse the sentence of banishment which had been pronounced against the duke of Lancaster, and restore him to the possession of his estate: that the dukes of Surrey and Exeter, the earl of Salisbury, and bishop of Carlisle, should be tried for the offences they had committed, together with all those who were concerned in the death of the duke of Gloucester. If his majesty would assent to these proposals, Northumberland declared, in the name of his principal, that Richard should be restored to all the prerogatives of the royal dignity; that Lancaster had sworn by the body of Christ to fulfil the articles with the utmost punctuality; and that he (Northumberland) was ready to incur the same obligation. The king himself did not much rely upon the sincerity of this ambassador; but the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, and several other knights, being unwilling to drive matters to extremity, persuaded him to trust the earl upon his oath, which he took accordingly, in the most solemn manner, upon the sacrament. Then Richard desired him to ride on before, and he would follow him to Flint-Castle, where he would be nearer the

duke, to settle the terms of accommodation. This castle had already surrendered to Northumberland; who, placing an ambush behind a rock on the road thro' which the king was obliged to pass, suddenly surrounded that unfortunate monarch, who was conveyed a prisoner to the castle. When he found himself betrayed, he declared he would return to Conway: but the earl, seizing his horse's bridle, told him plainly, that he should not return; for he would conduct him to the duke of Lancaster. Richard told him, that the God by whom he had sworn would do justice at the day of judgment: but Northumberland, without seeming to entertain any religious scruples, hurried him into the castle, where he left him with the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of Carlisle, in the utmost terror and suspense; while he himself proceeded to Chester, to make the duke acquainted with the success of his expedition. Next morning Lancaster advanced at the head of his army towards Flint-Castle; and sent the archbishop of Canterbury before, with the earl of Rutland, and the lord Thomas Piercy, to prepare the king for his arrival. Richard, descrying them from the walls, went down to receive them; and, when they approached his presence, they fell down upon their knees with all the marks of the most profound veneration. Then the king conferred with the archbishop in private; and afterwards this prelate returned to Lancaster, with his two companions, to give an account of his embassy. Immediately after their departure, the earl of Northumberland came and told the king, that the duke would not enter the castle until his majesty should have dined. Richard sat down at table with the earl, bishop, and several knights, who had followed his fortune; but their meal was very disagreeably disturbed by the intrusion and insolence of several knights and esquires, belonging to the duke, who

A. D. 1399. pressed into the apartment, and insulted the king's company with rude menaces of death and destruction; so that they were overwhelmed with terror and dismay. In the afternoon the duke of Lancaster entered the castle in complete armour, save that his head was bare; and the king coming down from the tower, attended by Salisbury and the bishop, received him with the salutation of "Cousin of Lancaster, you are welcome." The duke, bowing three times to the ground, replied in these terms: "My lord the king, I am come sooner than you appointed, because your people say you have for one and twenty years governed with rigour and indiscretion; so that they are very ill satisfied with your conduct: but, if it please God, I will help you to govern them better for the time to come." To this declaration the king made no other answer, but "Fair cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us likewise." Then the duke spoke to the bishop of Carlisle, and sent a message to the earl of Salisbury, importing, that since he had disdained to speak to him at Paris, he should now in his turn be treated with the same disrespect. After this short dialogue, the duke ordered the king's horses to be brought out of the stable; and two wretched animals being produced, Richard mounted one, while Salisbury made use of the other. In this sorry equipage they rode to Chester, and were conveyed to the castle with a great noise of trumpets, through a vast concourse of people, who scoffed at them as they passed along. Richard and his companions were lodged in the Great Tower, where they found the duke of Exeter, and there they remained three days; during which the duke dismissed a great number of his forces, retaining only about thirty thousand men, which he deemed a sufficient number to conduct the king to London, and execute the other parts of his design.

At

At the head of this convoy, the duke began his march for the capital, with his royal prisoner, who had well nigh escaped at Litchfield, by creeping through the window of a tower into a garden, where he lay for some time concealed; but, being discovered, he was used with great barbarity, and brought back to the tower, where he was committed to the custody of twelve armed men, who watched continually in his apartment. At some distance from London, the duke was met by the recorder, and a number of knights and esquires, who desired in the name of the commons of London, that he would behead Richard, and all those taken in his service: but Lancaster rejected the proposal, telling them, that such conduct would reflect everlasting disgrace upon him and all his adherents; and that he would leave the delinquents to the judgment of a free parliament. The duke was received at London by all the city companies in their liveries; and he made his entrance amidst the acclamations of the people, who cried aloud, "Long live the good duke of Lancaster our deliverer." Richard was conveyed to the Tower, where the royal lodgings were prepared for his reception; but the duke repaired to St. Paul's church, where he performed his devotion at the high altar, and then kneeled at his father's tomb, which he bedewed with his tears. Having lodged a few days in the palace belonging to the bishop of London, he chose his habitation in the house of the knights of St. John in the suburbs, where he resided till the meeting of parliament, which he had already summoned, in Richard's name, to meet at Westminster on the last day of September. Nothing demonstrates the misconduct of the king, and the oppression that prevailed in his reign, so clearly as the universal defection of the people in favour of the duke of Lancaster, who, in seven and forty days, made himself master

A. C. 1399.

Is conveyed
to London.C. de Lamb.
ap. Tyrrel.
Froissart.
Polyd. Virg.

A. C. 1399 of all England, without the least opposition, except from the garrison of Bristol-Castle. He was also particularly fortunate in another respect; for, in Holt-Castle, he found all Richard's jewels and treasure, amounting to seven hundred thousand pounds, together with all his horses and baggage.

Notwithstanding all his success, the duke met with some obstacles between him and the throne, which he found some difficulty in surmounting. To claim the crown by conquest would have been an impolitic step, that must have ruined all his popularity, and raised up powerful enemies against his pretensions: and he could not, with any shadow of reason, demand it by hereditary right, during the life of Edmund, son of Roger Mortimer, who had been declared presumptive heir of the crown, as lineal descendant of Lionel duke of Clarence. He, therefore, by the advice of his uncle the duke of York, resolved to ascend the throne upon a mixed title, arising from the voluntary resignation of Richard, the deposition of that prince by parliament, and his own services to the nation, added to a mysterious claim deduced from Edmund Crouchback earl of Lancaster, who he pretended was in fact the eldest son of Henry III. This resolution being formed, they tampered with Richard, who began to be refractory, and even retracted the promise of resigning the crown, which it seems he had made to the archbishop at Conway-Castle. In all probability, he was provoked by the arrogant behaviour of Lancaster, and the personal insults he had received since his captivity. For when the duke visited him in the Tower, and told him that his uncle of York and cousin Aumerle had something to communicate to him in private, he could not help giving way to his indignation, even in presence of these noblemen, whom he taxed with having betrayed him and the kingdom. Aumerle,
who

Richard
makes a re-
signation of
the crown.

who stood covered in his apartment, no sooner A. C. 1399 heard these words, than he threw his hat on the ground, telling him he lied; and Richard answered, that he was an insolent traitor unworthy of his notice. Lancaster interposing, checked Aumerle for the indecency of his behaviour; and treated the king with more exterior civility than he had hitherto shewn to that unfortunate prince, who, when his passion subsided, and he reflected coolly on his deplorable situation, resolved to comply with all the proposals of his adversary, well knowing that otherwise he had no mercy to expect from a conqueror of his character. When the form of resignation was brought to him on Michaelmas day in the morning, he deferred signing the instrument until he should have conferred with his cousin Henry, who going to him in the afternoon, he executed the deed with seeming chearfulness, in presence of the archbishop of York and bishop of Hereford, whom he desired to notify his resignation to the parliament, and tell the estates in his name, that he wished his cousin the duke of Lancaster might be chosen as his successor. At the same time he pulled his signet-ring from his finger, and delivered it to the duke as a further testimony of his good-will, which he desired they would also communicate to the parliament. The instrument, which he himself read aloud in the hearing of those prelates, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with several other noblemen, ecclesiastics, and lawyers, contained a release of fealty and homage formerly sworn by his subjects; a renunciation of the royal dignity, crown, dominions, and government, for which he owned himself altogether unqualified; and a promise that he would never retract this resignation.

Next day the parliament assembling at Westminster, the prelates of York and Hereford publicly Richard is
deposed in
parliament. declared

A. C. 1399. declared the king's message, and produced the resignation, which being read in Latin and English, was admitted with the unanimous assent of the assembly. Then it was agreed, that for the advantage of the nation, and in order to remove all scruples and sinister suspicions, the crimes and misconduct of the king during his administration should be summed up in writing, and published to the nation, that it might more plainly perceive the necessity for his being deposed. Articles of impeachment were accordingly exhibited against Richard in three and thirty articles, implying, That he had, without judgment or discretion, squandered away the crown revenues, and committed the administration to persons without parts or integrity, who oppressed the people with intolerable exactions: That he had unjustly accused and punished as traitors, the commissioners established by parliament to reform the abuses of government: That he had extorted from the judges an assent to illegal opinions, with a view to condemn the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and other persons of distinction: That his uncle the duke of Gloucester was murdered by his private direction: That he had levied troops to make war upon those three noblemen, and countenanced his soldiers in the commission of all manner of outrages: That notwithstanding his proclamation, declaring that those three noblemen were arrested for slight misdemeanors, he had procured their condemnation upon a charge of high treason: That he had extorted excessive fines from several counties, on pretence of crimes which had been pardoned in the general amnesty: That he had refused to communicate the public affairs to the commissioners established in parliament, to take charge of the administration: That he had forbid his subjects, on pain of death, to solicit in behalf of the duke of Hereford: That, although he held
his

his crown of God alone, he had procured bulls A. C. 1399- from the court of Rome, to corroborate acts of parliament made to confirm his arbitrary proceedings: That he had banished the duke of Hereford contrary to law and justice, without any cause assigned: That although he had granted letters-patent, empowering the said duke to sue by his attornies for livery of any inheritance that might devolve upon him in his absence, these letters were revoked, against the laws of the land and the dictates of common justice: That he had deprived several sheriffs of their offices, and substituted others in their room by his own authority, contrary to the laws of the realm: That he had borrowed, or rather extorted, on pretence of borrowing, great sums of money which were never repayed: That he had laid impositions upon his subjects, by his own power and authority: That he had often said the laws of the land were in his own breast, and depended entirely upon his pleasure: That, in consequence of that arbitrary maxim, he had deprived several persons of life and fortune, and ruined a great number of his subjects: That he had extorted an act from the parliament, decreeing that no statute could prejudice his prerogative; and, by virtue of this ordinance, explained acts of parliament according to his own caprice, and contrary to the intention of the legislature: That he had permitted sheriffs to continue longer than a year in office, contrary to the law and custom of the kingdom: That by his sole authority, he had annulled the election of members of parliament, and appointed others in their places: That he had imposed uncommon oaths upon the sheriffs; and ordered them to imprison all persons who should complain of the administration, until the king's pleasure should be known: That he compelled the people of sixteen counties to submit themselves to him as traitors;

and

A.C. 1399. and afterwards to purchase his favour with great sums of money: That he had extorted money, waggons, horses, and provision, from divers abbots and priors, in direct violation of ecclesiastical liberty: That he intimidated the lords in council from speaking their sentiments on the state of the kingdom, by dint of severe rebuke, menaces, and reproach: That he carried the jewels of the crown and the archives of the kingdom into Ireland: That in his negotiations with foreign princes, as well as in his contracts with his own subjects, he dissembled so much, and used such fraudulent equivocation, that no person could depend upon his promise or protestation: That he had frequently said the lives and fortunes of his subjects were entirely at his disposal: That, in direct violation of Magna Charta, he had often substituted military in the room of common law: That, on pretence of the legality of duel or single combat, he had allowed strong active young persons to challenge those that were old and infirm; and in case they refused the unequal combat, decided the causes in favour of the challengers: That he had exacted from many of his subjects oaths couched in general terms, which he afterwards explained to their prejudice and destruction: That he had granted under the privy seal prohibitions, to which the chancellor would not put the great seal, because they were contrary to the laws of the realm: That he destroyed the freedom of parliament, by surrounding the place of session with armed men: That he unjustly and arbitrarily banished Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, his spiritual father, in the absence of that prelate, who was persuaded to absent himself by the king's treacherous counsel and contrivance: That, by a clause in his will, he had bequeathed his gold to his successor, on condition of his approving, ratifying, and confirming

firming laws, statutes, ordinances, and judgments, A. C. 1399. which were erroneous, unjust, and repugnant to all law and reason; and by this clause endeavoured to infringe the liberty of succeeding parliaments: That although he had of his own accord solemnly sworn upon the sacrament in the chapel of his manor at Langley, that he would pardon the duke of Gloucester for all offences he was said to have committed against the king's person or government; yet afterwards, notwithstanding that solemn oath and obligation, he caused the duke for those very offences to be horribly and cruelly murdered, thereby adding the guilt of perjury to murder: That he had earnestly desired the archbishop of Canterbury to forbear answering the articles of his impeachment, and persuaded him to remain quiet at his own house, in full assurance that he should receive no loss and prejudice in his absence; notwithstanding which assurance, the archbishop was banished and his estate confiscated, contrary to all law and equity: That the king afterwards cajoled the archbishop with flattering and fraudulent speeches, laying the blame of his being banished upon other persons, until he found means to persuade the said prelate to trust him with the jewels belonging to his chapel, as a sacred deposit, which he detained for his own use, and distributed among his favourites according to his pleasure: That he promised the archbishop's sentence should be reversed, and swore upon the cross of St. Thomas the Martyr, that he should not lose his archbishopric; notwithstanding which sacred and solemn engagements, he expelled the archbishop from the kingdom, and wrote to the pope, desiring his holiness would translate him to some mean diocese in a foreign country. These articles being publicly read, the three estates unanimously agreed that these offences, together with Richard's own confession and resignation, furnished

A. C. 1399. nished them with sufficient cause and authority to depose him, for the security and quiet of the people, and the advantage of the kingdom. They therefore appointed the bishop of St. Asaph, the abbot of Glastonbury, the earl of Gloucester, the lord Berkley, Thomas Erpingham, and Thomas Grey, knights, and William Thyrning justice, as commissioners to pronounce sentence of deposition against king Richard from all royal dignity, majesty, and honour, in the name and by the authority of all the estates, as in like cases according to the antient custom of the kingdom had been observed. The sentence being drawn up by these commissioners, was pronounced by the bishop of St. Asaph; and the three estates constituted certain persons as their proctors and agents, to go and resign to king Richard the homage and fealty which they had formerly done and promised, and to notify the sentence of his deposition.

Henry of
Lancaster is
proclaimed
king.

The throne of England being thus vacated, Henry duke of Lancaster rising from his seat, calling upon the name of Christ, and crossing himself on the forehead and breast, claimed the crown with all its members and appurtenances, as the lineal descendant and right heir of blood from Henry III. The three estates were asked severally their opinions of this ridiculous claim, which they unanimously admitted, consenting that the duke of Lancaster should reign over them. Then the archbishop, taking Henry by the right hand, led him to the royal throne, before which he kneeled and prayed with marks of great devotion; after which the two metropolitans assisted him in ascending the throne, on which he seated himself amidst the acclamations of the people. The archbishop of Canterbury having harrangued, or rather preached to the people on this singular occasion, the new king, in an audible voice, thanked the lords spiritual and temporal,

ral, and all the estates of the land, for their cheerful concurrence in his elevation; and assured them that he would not assume the rights of a conqueror to alter the laws and customs of the realm, or deprive any man of his inheritance and privileges, excepting such as had opposed his endeavours for the common advantage of the kingdom. That the administration of justice might not be delayed, he forthwith named his principal officers and judges, who took the usual oaths; and proclamation was made that the parliament should meet on Monday after Michaelmas. The coronation was fixed for the Monday next ensuing; then the king retired to Whitehall, where the nobility and others were regaled with a splendid entertainment. Next day the commissioners visited Richard in the Tower, who received their renunciation of homage and the news of his deposition with great fortitude, and even seemed pleased with the thought of being disencumbered of the burthen of royalty. He was in a little time removed to the castle of Ledes in Kent, and from thence to Pontefract in Yorkshire, which was the last stage of his mortal pilgrimage. Such was the conclusion of the inglorious reign of Richard II. a weak, vain, frivolous, and inconstant prince; without weight to balance the scales of government; without discernment to chuse a good ministry; without virtue to oppose the measures and advice of evil counsellors, even when they happened to clash with his own principles and opinion. He was a dupe to flattery, a slave to ostentation, and not more apt to give up his reason to the suggestions of sycophants and vicious ministers, than to sacrifice those ministers to his own safety. He was idle, profuse, and profligate; and though brave by starts, naturally pusillanimous and irresolute. His pride and resentment prompted him to cruelty and breach of faith; while his necessities obliged him

Rot. Parl.
Froissart.
Fabian.

A. C. 1399. him to fleece his people and degrade the dignity of his character and station. Though we find none of his charities on record, all historians agree that he excelled all his predecessors in state and hospitality, and fed a thousand mouths every day from his kitchen. Notwithstanding his dissolute life, he never was accused of incontinence; and though left a widower in the prime of his youth, was never known to be engaged in any particular amour that produced illegitimate issue. Perhaps his want of children was owing to some natural frigidity of constitution; for he had no issue by his first queen Anne, daughter of Charles IV. emperor of Germany, who was an amiable princess, with whom he lived twelve years in all the comfort of happy wedlock: as for his second wife Isabella eldest daughter of Charles VI. king of France, her nuptials with him were never actually consummated; for she was but just turned of ten years of age when he was treacherously murdered.

HENRY





Benoit sculp.

HENRY IV.

H E N R Y IV.

Surnamed of BOLINGBROKE.

DURING the interval between the parliament which deposed Richard, and that which was convoked by his successor, this prince filled some places that were either vacant, or occupied by persons who were not agreeable to his inclinations and designs. The earl of Northumberland was created high constable; and the dignity of earl marshal conferred upon Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland. In a few days after this promotion, he bestowed the Isle of Man upon the former of these noblemen, with the privilege of carrying at the coronation the sword of Lancaster, which was the very individual weapon he wore when he landed at Ravenspur. Then his second son Thomas of Lancaster was invested with the office of high steward; a place of dignity which he was obliged to fill before the coronation, because the high steward decides the right of those particular noblemen who perform particular services at that ceremony; and as Thomas was but ten years of age at this period, Thomas Piercy earl of Worcester was appointed his lieutenant. Henry seems to have made his religion subservient to his interest. We have seen how he fascinated the eyes of the people with public acts of devotion in St. Paul's church, when he brought his sovereign a prisoner to London, as well as at his usurpation in Westminster-Hall; and now to carry on the same superstitious mummary, in which he found his account, he resolved to be anointed at his coronation, with a certain oil said to have been presented by the Virgin Mary to Thomas Becket during his exile. The phial that con-

A. C. 1399.

Coronation
of Henry
IV.

A. C. 1399. tained this precious balm had fallen into the hands of an hermit, who gave it to Henry duke of Lancaster grandson of Henry III. assuring him, that all the kings anointed with that oil would become the true champions of the church. The duke made a present of it to Edward the Black Prince, who intended to be anointed with it, had he lived to his coronation: but after his death the phial, which was of stone surmounted by a golden eagle adorned with precious stones, stood for some time unheeded among his son's jewels until the latter part of his reign, immediately before his last expedition to Ireland, when he expressed a desire of being crowned a second time, that he might have the benefit of unction from this sacred vessel; but he was diverted from his purpose by the archbishop of Canterbury, who told him, that the unction of kings ought not to be repeated. At length the phial being seized by Henry among the other jewels of Richard, he seemed to rejoice at the thought of his being the first king consecrated from such a miraculous pitcher. He was crowned with all the usual formalities on the thirteenth day of October, being the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, in the thirty-third year of his age; and on that same day issued a proclamation, declaring that he had ascended the throne by the right of conquest, the resignation of Richard in his favour, and as next heir male of the late king. Thus he excluded the only title of which he ought to have availed himself, namely, the consent of the people; and trumped up an hereditary claim, than which nothing could be more absurd during the life of Edmund Mortimer, who yielded to the torrent of Lancaster's fortune, and retired to his estate of Wigmore on the Welsh Marches, where he lived privately, without expressing the least desire of opposition to the new government: for he knew the character of the
usurper,

usurper, and cautiously avoided every step which could possibly wake his suspicion. Henry's proclamation was not so much calculated to impose upon the people, by means of a pretended right of succession, as to caution them against all measures for restricting his authority, which they might have been apt to concert in the sequel, on the supposition, that they had a right to limit the prerogative which was founded on their election; whereas they now plainly perceived from his declaration, that he arrogated to himself the united rights of blood and conquest, that he might reign without controul. On the same day that his proclamation was published, he created his eldest son Henry, at that time in the thirteenth year of his age, duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and earl of Chester; and on the morrow the parliament assembled at Westminster.

His son
Henry cre-
ated prince
of Wales.

The first business of the session was to pass an act of indemnity, in favour of those who had taken up arms for the house of Lancaster in the late troubles. Then they repealed all the statutes of the two last parliaments convoked by Richard touching the condemnation of the three noblemen, and the excessive prerogatives which they had granted to the king, so contrary to the liberties of the subject. At the same time they renewed and confirmed the statutes which the parliament of Shrewsbury had repealed. They enacted a law against the pope's bull which Richard had solicited, and obtained, to enforce and confirm the proceedings of his parliament. As this was in effect an acknowledgment of the pope's sovereignty over England, the commons declared in this act, that the kingdom of England was independent of all foreign power; and that the pope in particular had no right to intermeddle in the civil government of the kingdom. The parliament at Shrewsbury, having extended the crime of trea-

Proceedings
and tumults
in parlia-
ment.

A. C. 1399. son to so many cases that every person must have been guilty, except those who acknowledged an unlimited authority in the sovereign, that statute was now repealed; and the crime of treason reduced to those cases which were specified in a law enacted in the reign of Edward III. on the same subject. The rights and privileges of the people being thus established, the parliament proceeded against the evil counsellors, who advised all the excesses which Richard had committed in the latter part of his administration; and this enquiry produced such violent disputes as had well nigh terminated in slaughter. The lord Fitzwalter challenged Aumerle as a traitor to king Richard; and the lord Morley taxed the earl of Salisbury with having betrayed both Richard and Henry. Other noblemen espousing the cause of those disputants, forty gauntlets were thrown down in the house of lords, by individuals who defied each other to single combat; so that Henry was obliged to interpose and compromise their differences. The sentence against the earl of Arundel and Warwick was repealed, as unjust and contrary to the pardon they had formerly obtained: and their accusers were deprived of their new titles, as well as of the lands of those noblemen which had been distributed among them; but their own possessions were left to the king's disposal. Henry, resolving to begin his reign with acts of clemency, allowed them to enjoy their own fortunes; though the dukes of Aumerle, Surrey, and Exeter, were now reduced to their former titles of the earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon; and the earl of Gloucester was compelled to resign that title for his former appellation of lord D'Esperfer. Salisbury and Morley, who had been principally concerned in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and all the arbitrary measures of Richard, received no other punishment than that of a short imprisonment;

ment ; though the people demanded with loud clamour, that they should be put to death as traitors to their country. These noblemen alledged, in their own excuse, that they had acted under Richard upon compulsion ; and therefore the parliament in a new statute, declared, that for the future such compulsion should be deemed no excuse for illegal actions. The succession to the crown was established in the house of Lancaster by an authentic act ; and Henry indulged with a considerable subsidy on wool, besides the remainder of what had been granted to Richard ; part of which was not yet levied. After these concessions, Henry could do no less than publish a general amnesty : from which, however, he excepted the murderers of the duke of Gloucester ; one of whom being apprehended, confessed the particulars of the murder, as they have been already related. He suffered death at London ; and his head being sent to Calais was fixed over one of the gates of the city.

Rymer.
Rot. Parl.
Fa'ian.

Before the session broke up, the archbishop of Canterbury, after having exacted an oath of secrecy from all the members of parliament, desired their advice, in the king's name, touching the destiny of Richard ; and notwithstanding the temper of the times, there was one man who had virtue and resolution enough to espouse the cause of that unfortunate monarch. This was Thomas Merks bishop of Carlile, who, in a public harrangue, affirmed, and undertook to prove, that there was no authority upon earth which could lawfully depose a king of England : that the crimes imputed to Richard did not deserve such punishment, and besides, were not proved ; and that the crown had been unjustly adjudged to the duke of Lancaster. The bishop's intention was to convince the parliament of their erroneous conduct, and encourage the friends of Richard to speak their sentiments ; but his speech

The bishop
of Carlile
opposes the
usurpation
in a speech
in parliament.

A. C. 1399. duced neither of these effects, and happened to be so unseasonable, that he was immediately arrested, and sent prisoner to the abbey of St. Alban's, from whence, however, he was soon released. This prelate's opinion being rejected in parliament, it was resolved, that Richard should be detained in perpetual prison, but in other respects entertained according to his rank and quality. The affairs of the nation being settled in this parliament, to the satisfaction of Henry and the people of England, he dissolved that assembly, and converted his attention to foreign affairs. He sent the bishop of Durham and the earl of Worcester as ambassadors to France, with proposals of a league and perpetual alliance between the two crowns, to be cemented by a double marriage; one between the prince of Wales and one of the daughters of France, and the other between Henry's daughter and one of the sons of Charles. This prince being interested in the cause of Richard, who was his son-in-law, the ambassadors met with a very cold reception: but, as they had instructions to behave with moderation, and overlook little slights or marks of resentment, they resolved to wait patiently until the first fire of the French court's indignation should be exhausted.

Commotions in Gui-
enne.

With respect to the other sovereigns of the continent, Henry found no difficulty in reconciling them to his elevation. The emperor Winceslaus was a besotted prince, who took no concern in the affairs of his neighbours; and the kings of Castile and Portugal were gainers by a revolution that promoted their brother-in-law to the crown of England. This was not the case with the Gascons, who deplored the misfortunes of a prince whom they loved as the son of the valiant Edward, and still more as their own countryman; for Richard was born at Bourdeaux, the citizens of which resented his deposition so highly, as to threaten openly

to submit to the king of France, rather than obey the usurper. The rest of the province was influenced by the example of this great city; and the whole dutchy of Guienne was upon the point of revolting. The court of France, resolving to make her advantage of this conjuncture, sent thither the duke of Bourbon to foment the disaffection and disgust of the Gascons; so that all the discretion of Sir Robert Knolles the governor was required to repress the spirit of rebellion. Perhaps his endeavours would have proved ineffectual, had not the earl of Worcester, one of the ambassadors at Paris, hastened to his assistance at Bourdeaux, and co-operated with him so effectually, that the commotions were appeased. These two were reinforced by the interest and influence of the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who acknowledged the Roman pontiff Boniface; and foresaw that, if Guienne should fall under the French dominion, he would be obliged to submit to Benedict, who resided at Avignon, and was patronized by the French monarch.

Froissart.

These troubles were scarce pacified, when Henry found himself exposed to the incursions of his neighbours. Robert III. king of Scotland, taking it for granted that this revolution in England must be attended with domestic dissensions, and that the king of France would not fail to exert himself in favour of his son-in-law Richard, thought he could not find a more favourable juncture for invading the northern provinces, which he ravaged accordingly, and took the castle of Werk in Northumberland. Henry, whose interest it was to avoid foreign quarrels, sent ambassadors to Scotland, to demand reparation for this insult, and, at the same time, to propose a renewal of the truce; to which Robert the more readily assented, as he perceived the French king took no step to the prejudice of the usurper. The difference with Scotland being

Popular measures of Henry.

A.C. 1399. compromised, Henry neglected no opportunity to recommend himself to the affections of his people: he upon all occasions expressed the utmost horror at the arbitrary proceedings of his predecessor; affected to consult the interests of his subjects preferably to his own; and, as a convincing proof of his sincerity, condemned to the flames all the blank bonds which Richard had extorted from the citizens of London, and the seventeen counties which had fallen under his displeasure.

Conspiracy
against him.

Notwithstanding these popular measures, he had well nigh fallen a sacrifice to a dangerous conspiracy, formed by the noblemen who had suffered by his accession to the throne. The plan is said to have been projected by the abbot of Westminster, whose house was the place of rendezvous for the conspirators. These were the dukes of Aumerle, Surry, and Exeter, the earls of Gloucester and Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, and Sir Thomas Blount; and they engaged as their tool one Maudlin, who had been chaplain to Richard, and resembled that prince so exactly in his lineaments and person, that they thought they could easily impose him upon the people for that monarch. They resolved to institute a tournament at Oxford; and the duke of Aumerle, who enjoyed a good share of Henry's confidence, undertook to invite him to that diversion, when it would be in their power to seize or assassinate his person. The particulars of the scheme were committed to writing, and each conspirator was provided with a copy, signed and sealed by his confederates. The tournament being proclaimed by the duke of Exeter and the earl of Salisbury, all the conspirators repaired to Oxford, with numerous retinues, on pretence of curiosity; except the duke of Aumerle, whom they expected in vain. That nobleman, chancing to visit his father the duke of York at Langley, was de-

detected by his parents ; who, while he sat at dinner, perceived a paper in his bosom : when York questioned him about the contents, his countenance betrayed such confusion, that his father's suspicion was alarmed ; he snatched the paper, and perusing the scheme, ordered his horses to be saddled with the utmost expedition. Aumerle, guessing his intention, mounted immediately ; and riding full speed to the king at Windsor, discovered the whole conspiracy, and obtained his pardon before the arrival of his father, who produced the paper, signed and sealed by the other conspirators. Henry, alarmed at this intelligence, laid aside his design of going to Oxford, and continued at Windsor until he should see what steps the confederates would take in consequence of their disappointment. When they understood that the dukes of York and Aumerle had visited the king at Windsor, they no longer doubted but that their scheme was discovered ; and resolved to execute immediately by force what they could not accomplish by stratagem. They forthwith produced Maudlin in royal attire ; affirming and publishing that he was Richard escaped from prison, and come to implore the assistance of his loving subjects. By this time the fate of that unhappy prince had wrought upon the compassion of the people. They forgot all his vices, remembered his birth, his comely appearance, his former magnificence, and his present misfortune. They flocked to his standard in such crowds, that the lords of the conspiracy found themselves in a few days at the head of a numerous army, with which they began their march to Windsor, where they hoped to take the king by surprize. Henry had retired, during the preceding night, to London, where he assembled a body of twenty thousand men, and marched back as far as Hounslow Heath, in order to give battle to the rebels, should they take the route to the capital.

They

A. C. 1400.
The rebellion
quelled
by the val-
our of the
mayor of
Cirencester.

They were so discouraged by the dispatch and resolution of Henry, that, instead of advancing and hazarding an engagement, they retreated from Colebrook, where young queen Isabel resided, and encamped without the gates of Cirencester. The chiefs took up their quarters in the city; the duke of Surry and earl of Salisbury lodging at one public inn, while the duke of Exeter and the earl of Gloucester lay at another: but they were so careless, or unexperienced in war, that they neglected to place proper guards at the gates and avenues of the town. The mayor of the place, observing this negligence, assembled four hundred men in the night; and, securing the gates, so as to exclude the troops that were encamped without the walls, attacked the four noblemen in their quarters. The duke of Surry and earl of Salisbury were taken, after an obstinate defence, and beheaded on the spot by the mayor's order; while the duke of Exeter and the earl of Gloucester escaped by the tops of houses, and repaired to the camp, with a view to storm the town at the head of their forces; but they found the tents and baggage abandoned by the soldiers, who, hearing the noise and tumult of fighting within the town, concluded that a detachment of the king's army had entered the place, and on that supposition fled with the utmost precipitation. The two noblemen took leave of each other, that they might have the better chance of escaping single; but they were apprehended, and lost their heads in the sequel. Henry, advancing to Cirencester, found the rebels already dispersed, and did not fail to reward the mayor and inhabitants for their valour and fidelity. From thence he proceeded to Oxford, where Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Benedict Sely, with six and twenty persons who had followed the duke of Exeter, were executed; and about the same time the earl of Glou-

Gloucester and the lord Lumley, who had been also concerned in the conspiracy, were beheaded by the populace at Bristol. Maudlin, and another clergyman, called William Feliby, together with Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir John Sheveley, were executed at Tyburn. The duke of Exeter was taken at Prittlewell, and beheaded at Pleshy in Essex, without any form of process, although he had married Henry's own sister. Roger Walden late archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Merks bishop of Carlile, were committed to the Tower, on suspicion of having privately assisted the conspirators: the first was soon released, and promoted to the see of London; but Merks was brought to his trial, and convicted of treason. He was remanded to the Tower, where he remained above twelve months; then he was removed to the Marshalsea, and afterwards obtained the king's pardon, though he was deprived of his bishopric, and died rector of Todenham in Gloucestershire. The abbot of Westminster, who had taken the field with the conspirators, who so terrified at the rout and dispersion of their troops, in the neighbourhood of Cirencester, that he fell into an apoplectic fit, of which he never recovered; and, the rebellion being utterly extinguished, Henry returned in triumph to London.

A. C. 1400.

Rymer.
Hall.
Holling-
shed.
Fabian.

In all probability, this disturbance hastened the fate of the unfortunate Richard. Henry could plainly perceive that the imprisoned king did not want partisans who favoured his cause both from affection to his person, and disgust to Bolingbroke, by whom they had been deceived in the motives of his invasion: he therefore concluded, that his royalty would be exposed to the attempts of malcontents while Richard was alive; and measures were taken for depriving that wretched captive of his life. The manner of his death is variously related,

Death of
king
Richard,

A. C. 1400. related. The adherents of Henry gave out that he starved himself to death, from grief and vexation at the miscarriage and fate of his friends. Others alledge that he was doomed to this lingering destiny by the private direction of Henry. But the generally received opinion is, that he was murdered by Sir Piers de Exton, in the following manner: This knight, hearing Henry complain that he had no fears nor apprehensions but from one quarter, to disturb him in his possession of the crown, interpreted the hint according to his own conjecture, and repaired to Pontefract, with eight followers, to perpetrate the execrable scheme he had projected. Richard perceiving that while he sat at dinner, his victuals were not tasted according to custom, demanded the cause of this omission; and the taster telling him, that the king had sent an order to desist from that ceremony, Richard struck him on the face with a knife; exclaiming, "The devil take Harry of Lancaster and thee together." Exton, hearing the noise occasioned by this fray, rushed into the room with eight followers in arms; and the king, concluding their design was to take away his life, resolved to sell it as dearly as he could. He wrested a pole-axe from one of the assassins, and defended himself so manfully, as to lay four of the number dead at his feet; when the treacherous Exton came behind his back, and with his battle-axe felled him to the ground. Had the tragedy been really acted in this manner, the marks of violence would have certainly appeared in the dead body, which was brought to London, and publicly exposed in St. Paul's church to the eyes and inspection of every observer. It seems more likely, therefore, that he perished by famine; especially as the archbishop of York, with the earls of Northumberland and Worcester, when they afterwards revolted against Henry, affirmed in their

ma-

manifesto, that he was starved, by being kept fifteen days without sustenance. Thus died the unfortunate Richard, in the thirty-third year of his age; and his fate excited pity and regret in every compassionate bosom. He was buried at Langley in Hertfordshire; but his body was afterwards removed by Henry V. to Westminster, and interred with great solemnity among his ancestors. The death of Richard, howsoever procured, was very seasonable for his successor. Charles of France had made great preparations for invading England, in order to restore his son-in-law to the throne; and Henry was so alarmed at the importance of the armament, that, besides the usual precautions taken for the defence of the kingdom, he ordered archbishop Arundel to arm and array all the ecclesiastics of his province, that they might be ready to take the field on the first notice. Perhaps those preparations of France abridged the days of Richard. His death was no sooner known at the French court, than all thoughts of an invasion were laid aside: a truce for eight and twenty years was concluded between the two crowns; and it was agreed that queen Isabel, whose marriage had never been consummated, should return to her own country.

Laboureur.
Hist. de
Charl. VI.

Henry's accommodation with France seems to have rendered him less scrupulous in maintaining a good understanding with Scotland. George Dunbar earl of Marche thinking himself outraged by his sovereign, in the case of a match which had been contracted between his daughter and David prince of Scotland, abandoned his own country, and retired to England; from whence he made incursions into Lothian, in conjunction with Henry Piercy, surnamed Hotspur. Robert the Scottish king sent ambassadors to Henry, demanding that the traitor might be surrendered to justice; and, the English monarch refusing this satisfaction, Robert declared

A. C. 1400. Henry's expedition in- to Scotland. war against him, and began to prepare for an invasion. Henry resolved to anticipate his operations ; and, having obtained a supply from the lords spiritual and temporal, assembled in council, levied an army, which rendezvoused at Newcastle : from thence he sent an herald to summon the Scottish king to meet him at Edinburgh, on the twenty-third day of August, in order to do homage for his kingdom ; and immediately began his march for that city, at which he arrived without the least opposition. He forthwith invested the castle, which was so vigorously defended by the earl of Douglas and his son-in-law David prince of Scotland, that very little progress was made in the siege ; when Henry thought proper to abandon the enterprize, and return to his own dominions. Thither he was followed by two bodies of Scots, commanded by Hepburn and Haliburton, who fell upon the northern counties, and cruelly revenged the ravages which the English had committed in Scotland ; though Hepburn was defeated and slain in his return from the expedition. The issue of this incursion disposed the Scots to agree to the proposal of a truce for six weeks ; which was afterwards prolonged according to the emergency of Henry's affairs.

Insurrection of Owen Glendour-dwy.

His abrupt retreat from Scotland was not so much owing to the advanced season of the year, as to the news of an insurrection in Wales, headed by Owen Glendour-dwy, commonly called Glendower. This gentleman had been educated as a lawyer at the inns of court, and afterwards served Richard II. as one of his body esquires. He possessed a considerable estate in Wales ; and was descended by his mother from Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last prince of that country. He conceived himself injured in the issue of a law-suit with Reginald lord Grey of Ruthyn, and did himself justice by force of arms. Reginald

complaining of this violence to the king, with whom he was in high favour, Henry sent lord Talbot, with a reinforcement to his assistance; and they fell upon Owen so unexpectedly, that he had scarce time to retreat to the woods and mountains. Finding that his dispute with lord Grey was no longer considered as a private quarrel, he endeavoured to interest his countrymen in his behalf; and, by the dint of eloquence, insinuation, and family influence, persuaded them not only to renounce their dependance upon England, but also to declare him their prince and sovereign, as the lineal descendant from Llewellyn ap Griffith. Then, assembling a body of stout Welshmen, he attacked the town of Ruthyn, which he plundered and reduced to ashes. He afterwards gave battle to that nobleman, on the banks of the river Vurnway in Montgomeryshire, where Reginald was defeated, taken prisoner, and compelled to marry the daughter of Glendourdy. Emboldened by this success, Owen made an irruption into the county of Hereford: and Edmund Mortimer, thinking this was a favourable opportunity to acquire the favour of Henry, raised a body of twelve thousand men to stop the progress of this Welsh invader. The two armies meeting at Pitleth in Radnorshire, a desperate engagement ensued: the English were totally routed, after having lost eleven hundred men killed on the field of battle; and Mortimer himself was taken prisoner. Owen refused to admit him to ransom, on this supposition that a person of his consequence would be redeemed by a formal negotiation; in which case he would have an opportunity of treating with Henry as an independent prince: but he was mistaken in his conjecture. Henry was too well pleased with the captivity of the true heir of the crown, to contribute to his release; and Owen, perceiving his drift, thought proper to alter
his

A. C. 1400. his scheme, and project an alliance with his prisoner. Mean while he advanced to the side of the Severn, and ravaged the country without opposition. These events however did not happen till a considerable time after the Scottish expedition; though we have related them in this place, rather than break the thread of the narration.

**Fabian.
Powel.**

**Sanguinary
laws executed
against
the Lollards.**

Immediately after Henry's return to London, he was visited by Manuel Paleologus emperor of Constantinople, who came to solicit assistance against Bajazet the Turkish emperor. He was entertained with great magnificence, and received several rich presents: but Henry would not pretend to oblige him with succours, until the affairs of his own kingdom should be better established. He therefore returned to France, where he remained until he received intelligence of Bajazet's being vanquished and taken by Tamerlane. **A. C. 1401.** The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of January, Thirning the chief justice opened the session with a speech, in which he assured the members, that the king had nothing more at heart than the good of his people; and that he was fully determined to preserve the constitution, both in church and state. Then he expatiated upon the vast expence to which his majesty had been exposed, in suppressing the rebellion, in the Scottish expedition, and in paying the garrison of Calais; as well as the debts he had contracted when he came over for the relief of the kingdom. He represented the necessity of an immediate supply for enabling him to quell the insurrection in Wales; defend the English possessions in Ireland; perform his engagements with France, in sending back queen Isabel with her dowry; and put Guienne in a posture of defence against the designs of the French king, who had lately created his eldest son duke of that province. The lords and commons chearfully voted a considerable subsidy; and then
pro;

proceeded to consider the grievances of the nation. A. C. 1401.
 The sect of Lollards daily increasing, it was provided that none should preach without a licence from the bishop of the diocese; and as to those who either refused to abjure their heresy, or relapsed after abjuration, it was enacted that, upon a certificate from the diocesan bishop, or his commissaries, delivering them over to the secular arm, the civil magistrate should receive their bodies, and cause them to be burned in public. Willam Sautre, rector of St. Osithe's in London, was the first person who suffered in consequence of this statute: the convocation of Canterbury adjudged him an heretic relapsed; and, by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, he was burned at the end of the session. Rot. Parl. The penalties in the statute of provisors were now extended to such as procured bulls from the pope, either by exempting them from obedience to their ordinary, or qualifying them to hold pluralities, or dispensing with them for not residing on their benefices. In this last point, however, there was an excepting clause in favour of chaplains that were in the king's service, or employed in universities, or officiating in the chapels of noblemen.

Since the confirmation of the truce with France, Charles VI. or rather his brother the duke of Orleans, and his uncles of Berry and Burgundy, who governed the kingdom of France in his name, had often reclaimed the young queen Isabel, widow of Richard II. and Henry had artfully eluded a categorical answer on that subject. Being extremely desirous of effecting a match between that princess and his eldest son, he proposed that alliance to the French administration, by whom it was rejected, on pretence that the king was not in a condition to manage the business of the nation; and that this was an affair of too great consequence to be discussed without his knowledge and participation. Proposal of a match between the prince of Wales and queen Isabella rejected.]

N U M B. XXXVI. R standing

A. C. 1401.

standing this repulse, Henry was loth to part with the princess, because the father demanded the restitution of her dower, which had been payed to Richard: nevertheless, a negotiation was set on foot at Lelighen to adjust this affair; and, in the mean time, the princess was sent back to France with part of her jewels.

Act. Public.

Henry
marches into
Wales.

Henry had been employed for some time in making preparations for an expedition into Wales, against Owen Glendourdw; and, in the beginning of June, began his march for that country, at the head of a numerous army. As Owen retired before him, he ravaged the principality, and burned the monastery of Strathflor; but his army being distressed for want of provisions, and several of his detached parties cut off by Glendourdw, he soon returned, without having acquired either glory or advantage. Owen, who had prudently avoided a general engagement, was no sooner informed of his retreat, than he descended from the mountains, burned the suburbs of Poole in Montgomeryshire, and laid waste the adjoining Marches. Then he repaired with a very small body of troops to the hills of Plimlymmon, which he had appointed for the rendezvous of his forces, and from thence sent out detachments to ravage the county of Pembroke, and the neighbourhood of Cardigan, inhabited by the descendants of those Flemish and English families, who had formerly settled in that country: these assembling to the number of fifteen hundred, surrounded him so suddenly in one of his incursions, that he must have been taken, had not he and his men made a desperate effort of courage, and attacked the enemy with such fury that they were entirely routed. This victory was a great addition to the reputation of Owen, whose countrymen began to look upon him as the person destined to restore their former independency, and flocked to his

his banner from all quarters. Henry, alarmed at his success, invaded Wales again in October, when Owen retiring as before to his fastnesses, nothing of consequence was transacted, and the king marched back to London, extremely disgusted at the bad success of his undertaking.

Rymer.

He was in some measure consoled for these domestic troubles, by the alliances which he contracted on the continent. The duke of Gueldres renewed his league with England, which had been formed under the preceding reign; and Henry's eldest daughter Blanche was married to Lewis duke of Bavaria, eldest son of Rupert the German emperor. Next year she was conducted into Germany, with a fortune of twenty thousand marks, which was levied by an aid of twenty shillings for a knight's fee, or twenty pounds a year in lands held immediately of the crown. This aid was raised, by virtue of the royal prerogative, throughout the whole kingdom. Another treaty of marriage was set on foot between Henry's daughter Philippa, and Eric king of Denmark, who married the princess accordingly; though a match which had been projected between the Dane's sister Catherine, and Henry prince of Wales, did not succeed. Henry himself had for some time made his addresses to Jane of Navarre, widow of John IV. duke of Brittany, who privately obtained from the Avignon pope Benedict, two dispensations, without which this marriage could not have taken effect. One permitted her to marry a relation, in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity; and by the other she was allowed to communicate with such as paid canonical obedience to pope Boniface, who was acknowledged in England. The dutchess, thus eased of her scruples, sent over Anthony Rose as her proxy, and was contracted to Henry at Eltham: but before she could come in person, the nobility

Henry's daughters are married to foreign princes.

A. C. 1402

He himself espouses the dutchess dowager of Brittany.

A. C. 1401. of Bretagne received intimation of her design, and being apprehensive of her carrying the young duke with her to England, obliged her to deliver him up to Philip duke of Burgundy, his nearest relation. That nobleman, with the consent of the states, took upon him the tuition of her children, with the government of the country, and conveyed the young duke to Paris for his education. His mother setting sail from Brittany, under the conduct of the earl of Worcester, landed after a dangerous passage at Falmouth, from whence she proceeded to Winchester, where the nuptials were solemnized; and she was afterwards crowned at Westminster.

Rymer.

Another expedition against Glendourdwy.

It was at this period that Henry received the intelligence of Glendourdwy's success against lord Grey and Mortimer; and though he secretly rejoiced at Edmund's captivity, he interested himself deeply for his favourite Grey, and assembled another large army to take vengeance on the conqueror. The rendezvous of his forces was at Shrewsbury, where he divided them into three bodies, giving the command of one to the prince of Wales, and of another to the earl of Arundel, while the third marched under his own auspices. These divisions entered Wales at three different places, in order to surround Glendourdwy, who had retired to the mountains of Snowdon. But they met with such tempestuous weather, that it was hardly possible to keep the field, and they were obliged to retire without having performed any military exploit. Henry was extremely mortified at three successive miscarriages; and is said to have employed treacherous means to take away the life of Glendourdwy, who baffled all his designs of perfidy as well as open war, and acquired the reputation of a magician among the English people, who supposed he had made a compact with the devil. This bold Briton at length agreed to treat with lord Grey for his

ran-

ransom, which was fixed at ten thousand marks : A. C. 1401.
 and security being given for the payment, Reginald
 was released ; though he found it convenient to
 marry Owen's daughter Jane, that he and his te-
 nants might enjoy their estates in quiet. Rymer.

The king's ill success in Wales was recompensed The Scots
are defeated
at Holme-
don.
 by the fortune of his arms in the north of England.
 Archibald earl of Douglas, with the flower of
 the Scottish nobility, made an irruption into the
 English Marches, at the head of thirteen thousand
 men, and ravaged the country for some time with-
 out opposition ; but on their return to Scotland,
 they found themselves intercepted by a strong body
 of English troops, commanded by the earl of Nor-
 thumberland, his son Henry Hotspur, George earl
 of Dunbar, who was a refugee in England, and the
 lord Greyfroke. The two armies engaged each
 other at Holmedon-hill, near Wallover, on the
 borders of Northumberland towards Scotland ; but
 victory did not long hover in suspense. The Scots
 were drawn up on the declivity of the hill, so as to
 stand quite exposed to the arrows of the English ar-
 chers, who plied them so vigorously, that no ar-
 mour could resist the force of their missiles. Doug-
 las perceiving their advantage, ordered his men at
 arms to advance and attack the English bowmen,
 who retired as they approached, still letting fly their
 arrows, until that body of Scots was fatigued with
 the weight of their armour, and the rest of their
 army left exposed to the English archery, which
 made such havoc among them, that they could
 no longer stand the shock, but fled with great pre-
 cipitation. In this battle, which was fought on
 Holy-rood-day, seven hundred Scots were left dead
 upon the field of battle, besides a great number that
 perished in the Tweed. The earl of Douglas, who
 was dangerously wounded, and lost an eye in the
 engagement, was taken prisoner, together with

A. C. 1402. Mordack earl of Fife, son to the duke of Albany; the earls of Murray, Angus, and Orkney, the lords Montgomery and Erskine, and about four-score knights of distinction. Henry having received advice of this victory, sent orders to the victors, forbidding them to ransom their prisoners; declaring at the same time, that he did not mean to deprive them of their right, but desired the captives might not be disposed of without his directions.

Walsing.

The parliament being assembled on the thirtieth day of September at Westminster, the prisoners were presented to both houses, who thanked the earl of Northumberland for his services. But it was not without reluctance that they granted a continuation of the subsidy on wool and leather, the tonnage on wines, the poundage on merchandise, and a tenth and fifteenth, though on condition that they should not be drawn into a precedent. The clergy in this session obtained a confirmation of all their privileges, particularly that which exempted them from prosecutions in the king's courts for felonies, except such as touched his person, crown, and royal dignity. By this time a dangerous spirit of disaffection was diffused throughout the whole kingdom, by those who regretted and resented the deposition and murder of Richard. A report was industriously circulated all over England, that the late king was still alive, and had levied an army in Scotland, in order to expel the usurper. Papers were affixed to the church-doors, and in other public places, containing invectives against Henry, and affirming that the faults for which Richard had been deposed were trifles in comparison with the tyranny which Bolingbroke had exercised since his usurpation. Henry was so exasperated at these sarcasms, that he swore he would never pardon any person who should be convicted of having offered them to the public. Sir Roger Clarendon, natural son of the Black Prince,

Report of
Richard's
being alive.

was

was apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in a plot against the government, with the priest of Ware, the prior of Lawne, and nine other Franciscan friars, who were hanged at Tyburn without any formal conviction. These severities served only to encrease the number of malcontents, and destroyed the opinion which the people had formerly conceived of the king's clemency and humane disposition.

Rymer.

In the course of the summer, the Bretons being now entirely influenced by French counsels, committed depredations upon the coast of England; and the English deputies, at the congress of Lelighen, complained of this violation of the truce. The French ambassadors alledged that the English had been the aggressors: but, as a rupture was deemed equally inconvenient by both sides, they waved all punctilios, and the truce was again confirmed. This affair being amicably terminated, the French ambassadors demanded the restitution of Isabel's dower; and the English replied, that they did not doubt but their master, with a view to maintain a good understanding between the two crowns, would be content to deduct that sum from the million and a half of crowns still due for the ransom of king John. The plenipotentiaries of France were not a little surprised at this declaration, which they declined answering, until they should have received farther instructions. But, while the court of England was engrossed with feasting and rejoicings on account of the king's marriage, the French made a descent upon the isle of Wight, under the conduct of Valeran, count de St. Pol of the house of Luxembourg, who had married an uterine sister of Richard II. and now pretended, in his own name, to revenge the death of his brother-in-law. The court of France connived at his design, and even furnished him with troops for the enterprize, which, how-

The count de St. Pol makes a descent upon England; and the duke of Orleans challenges Henry to single combat.

A. C. 1402. ever, did not not succeed according to his expectation; for, after having plundered some villages, he was shamefully repulsed to his ships by the inhabitants, without any military reinforcement. Henry complained of this invasion to the court of France, from which he could extract no other reply, but that the king's intention was to observe the truce, which was again confirmed; and the king of England put up with the affront, rather than involve himself in a foreign war, while such discontents prevailed within his own kingdom. The ministry of Charles were not ignorant of Henry's situation and sentiments; and, as they hated his person, they

A. C. 1403. took no pains to dissemble their aversion. The duke of Orleans, as champion for Richard's memory, challenged him to single combat, at the head of an hundred knights: but Henry rejected this defiance, as coming from an inferior, telling him at the same time, that they might chance to meet in battle, where they would have an opportunity of measuring their swords according to his desire. The duke, incensed at the contempt with which Henry had treated him, reproached him in a second letter, with the epithets of traitor, usurper, and regicide. Bolingbroke, in answer to this outrage, gave him the lie in form, and accused him of having practised forcery, in order to intail upon his brother Charles the malady with which he was afflicted. The English ambassadors, who still continued their conferences at Lelighen, demanded, in the king's name, whether or not this challenge was avowed by their master; for, if it was, Henry would look upon it as an open rupture; and the French plenipotentiaries would make no other answer, but that it was their king's intention to observe the truce with good faith and punctuality. These, in their turn, demanded the dower of Isabel; and the king of England persisting in his pretensions to the ransom

of king John, the one debt balanced the other, and there the affair rested. A. C. 1403.

In the mean time a dangerous storm impended over Henry's head in England, which had been brewed by the most powerful noblemen of the kingdom. We have already observed, that, immediately after the victory at Holmedon, the king forbade the victors to dispose of their prisoners without his direction. He afterwards sent a peremptory order, demanding that they should be delivered into his hands; and the earl of Northumberland expostulated with him, upon the injustice of depriving them of the ransom to which they were intitled by the laws of war. The earl presumed too much upon his own service; and talked in such terms as disgusted Henry, who rebuked him for the freedom of his discourse, and desired him to keep his proper distance for the future. The impatient spirit of the Piercys took fire at this behaviour in the king, which they considered as an unpardonable indignity. The father and son looked upon themselves as the support of his government; and they thought they were as able to depose him as they had been instrumental in raising him to the throne: Northumberland's brother, Thomas earl of Worcester, not only espoused their quarrel, but also laid a plan of revenge, which had well nigh deprived Bolingbroke of his royalty. He proposed a correspondence with Mortimer, who had by this time married the daughter of Owen Glendourdwyl; and that nobleman, with his father-in-law, readily concurred in a scheme for dethroning Henry, and elevating Mortimer as the true heir of blood to the throne of England. Douglas and others of the Scottish prisoners were engaged as their associates, on condition of being released without ransom; and they returned to their own country, in order to raise forces for the assistance of those by whom they had so lately

Quarrel between the king and the earl of Northumberland.

A. C. 1403. lately been defeated. Worcester was the soul of this conspiracy. He not only projected the plan, but executed a contract of partition among the parties; by which the crown and kingdom of England was assigned to Mortimer; the whole country to the northward of the Trent fell to the share of Northumberland, to be held by homage to the king; and Owen Glendourwy was to be gratified with all the counties to the westward of the Severne. An immediate pretence for revolt being still wanting, the earl of Northumberland, who dissembled his resentment, represented to the king, that as Mortimer had been taken in his service, it was but reasonable that he should pay his ransom. Henry, piqued at this remonstrance, replied, that the earl of Marche had taken the field of his own accord for the defence of his estate; and therefore his dispute with Owen was a private quarrel with which the king had no manner of concern: he at the same time hinted, that Mortimer had surrendered to Owen on purpose to carry on a correspondence with that traitor more conveniently; and flatly refused to contribute one farthing towards his release. Young Percy, who had married Mortimer's aunt, loudly exclaimed against this refusal, which he said was a sure proof that Henry dreaded the right and title of Mortimer, who he hoped would die in captivity; and this argument had great weight with such people as were attached to the right of lineal succession.

Revolt of
the Percies.

The earl of Northumberland with his brother and son retired to the North, in order to levy forces and wait for the Scottish auxiliaries; and those arriving, Worcester and Hotspur began their march towards Cheshire, where they expected to be joined by the natives of that country, as well as by a strong body of Welsh under Mortimer and Glendourwy, who had promised to meet them on the Marches.

In

In the mean time the earl of Northumberland remained at Berwick, on pretence of being indisposed; though in reality to assemble another body of troops, with which he might join the confederates, in case they should prove successful in their first attempt; and that he might be at hand to retire into Scotland, provided the enterprise should miscarry, and he himself be considered by Henry as an accomplice of the rebels. Before they took the field, they had pulled off the mask, renounced their allegiance to Henry of Bolingbroke, and published a manifesto, charging him with treachery and perfidy, in having dethroned his lawful prince, contrary to the oath which he had taken in their hearing at Doncaster, immediately after his arrival in England. They likewise accused him of having ruled in a tyrannous manner, and rendered himself inaccessible to every body but the clergy, insomuch that the greatest nobleman of the land could not be admitted to his presence, unless introduced by some bishop; and they affirmed that he had converted to his own private uses, the subsidies which had been granted for the occasions of the public. The king published an answer to this declaration; and by the advice of the Scottish earl of Dunbar, who resided at his court, took the field immediately, with the forces which he had luckily provided for another Welsh expedition. Having proceeded as far as Burton upon Trent, he received intelligence that Worcester and his nephew had marched towards the frontiers of Wales, in order to join Mortimer and Glendourdwyl: and here again Dunbar with some difficulty prevailed upon him to alter his route, and hinder if possible their junction. He accordingly wheeled about, and directed his march towards Shropshire. This motion in all probability saved him from destruction; for Owen had actually advanced as far as Oswestry, with a body of
twelve

A.C. 1403. twelve thousand men, in order to join Piercy, who was already reinforced by the people of Cheshire, the constant adherents of Richard in all his distresses. The Piercies had given out that the late king was still alive, and that their intention was to deliver him from captivity; and this assertion brought numbers to serve under their banners. They had marched to Shrewsbury, and even invested the place, when the king's army appeared in sight: then Hotspur abandoned the siege, and withdrew his forces to Hartlefield, about three miles from Shrewsbury, where he resolved to hazard an engagement.

**Battle of
Shrewsbury,
in which
Hotspur is
defeated and
slain.**

His troops did not exceed fourteen thousand fighting men, including the Scottish auxiliaries under the earl of Douglas; and the king's forces were not much more numerous. After both armies were drawn up in order of battle, Henry's resolution seemed to fail him. He had formerly fought for glory as a private adventurer, but now his crown as well as his life was at stake; and he found himself on the eve of a battle, with two noblemen counted the bravest and the best commanders in Christendom. Staggered by these reflections, he sent the abbot of Shrewsbury with proposals of accommodation to Worcester; and made such concessions, as would in all probability have satisfied the unexperienced Piercy, who was but little acquainted with the arts and equivocation of mankind. His uncle knew how little was to be depended upon the promise or concessions of a prince, who acts from the necessity of his affairs; and misrepresented the king's message to Hotspur, who sent a defiance to Henry, and made a short speech to his soldiers, encouraging them to exert all their manhood to save themselves from disgrace, and the hands of the common executioner, which, should they be conquered, would finish what the sword should

should leave. Henry seeing his terms rejected and the rebels preparing to give him battle, recollected all his fortitude, and with the help of the earl of Dunbar and his son Henry prince of Wales, made an excellent disposition of his forces. His Scottish counsellor, who was upon this occasion not only actuated by his attachment to his benefactor, but also by his hatred of Douglas the rival of his house and reputation, supposing that an effort would be made against the person of Henry, advised that several persons might be cloathed in the same kind of attire, and followed by the same sort of attendants and equipage that usually distinguished the king. The advice was approved, and in all likelihood saved the life of Bolingbroke. The battle began with a discharge of arrows on both sides ; then the Scots under Douglas, and a choice body commanded by Hotspur, charged the front of the king's line with such fury, that they bore down all before them, until they had penetrated to the royal standard, which was beaten down. The king's horse was killed under him ; and the prince of Wales received a wound in the face, while he fought with incredible prowess. The impetuosity of Piercy and Douglas was the cause of their overthrow. They rushed on with such precipitation, that their soldiers could not follow them ; and the line which they had broken closing again, intercepted their retreat. They fought close by one another, and performed miracles of valour with the few who had followed their footsteps ; and Douglas slew three different persons who passed for the king of England by their coats of armour and distinctions : but all their followers being slain, they found themselves hemmed in on all sides, without any prospect of being joined or relieved by the rest of their forces, who knew not how to act when thus deprived of their leaders. The king perceiving their confusion, put himself

A. C. 1403.

himself at the head of a body of reserve, and falling in among them, made terrible havoc; while Piercy and Douglas resolved to cut their way back to their own forces. All opposition failed before them, until Hotspur was slain by an arrow; and his death was no sooner known, than his whole army betook themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation, after the battle had lasted three hours, during which it was maintained with equal valour on both sides. The king himself exposed his person like the meanest soldier in his army, charged the enemy sword in hand, and is said to have slain six and thirty men with his single arm. The prince of Wales behaved with the utmost gallantry; and the victory was in a great measure owing to the conduct and sedate valour of the earl of Dunbar. On the king's side, Edmund earl of Stafford, who commanded the first line, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir John Clifton, Sir John Cockaine, Sir Nicholas Gausel, Sir John Calverley, Sir John Maffey, Sir Hugh Mortimer, and about sixteen hundred men, were left dead upon the spot, and above three thousand grievously wounded. The rebel army lost double that number: the earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners, together with the baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon. All these were beheaded at Shrewsbury, except Douglas, whom the king dismissed without ransom on account of his valour. Hotspur's body was at first buried by the permission of Henry; but he afterwards ordered it to be dug up and quartered, that the different parts might be exposed in different places of the kingdom.

Walsing.

Immediately after the battle, the king sent a commission to the earl of Westmoreland, Henry Fitzburgh, Ralph Ewer, William Gascoigne, and Sir Robert Waterton, to raise the militia of the northern counties, and disperse the forces assembled by the earl

earl of Northumberland. That nobleman had advanced into the bishopric of Durham, in his way to join his brother; and the earl of Westmoreland had already assembled a body of forces to dispute his passage; but Piercy having received intelligence of the disaster at Shrewsbury, marched back to Newcastle, from whence he retired to his castle of Werkworth, where he dismissed his troops, and remained until king Henry arrived at York, and summoned him to appear in that city. Thither he repaired with a small retinue, after having previously received an assurance of pardon; and the king admitted the apology which he made for his conduct: though he treated him with great coldness and indifference, and obliged him to give security for his appearance at the ensuing parliament. Perhaps he would have met with more rigorous treatment, had not Henry thought it impolitic to drive a nobleman to despair, who was in possession of Berwick, Alnewick, and Werkworth; besides the castles that were occupied by his friends and vassals, who had escaped from the battle of Shrewsbury. The king having exacted a new oath of allegiance from the noblemen and freeholders of the northern counties, and forbid, on severe penalties, all depredations upon those who had been concerned in the insurrection, returned towards the borders of Wales, in order to proceed upon another expedition against Owen Glendourwy; but this design was defeated by his want of money for the subsistence of his army. He called a council of war to deliberate upon ways and means for removing this difficulty; and some of the courtiers proposed, that he should seize the money and rich equipages of the prelates who served in the expedition. The king seemed to relish the expedient, when archbishop Arundel declared that they should win with blows whatever they should get from him and his retinue.

The earl of Northumberland waits upon the king at York, and gives security for his appearance in parliament.

A. C. 1403. The king did not chuse to quarrel with this resolute prelate; and the archbishop made him amends for his forbearance, by procuring him the grant of a tenth in the next convocation.

Walsing.

**The Bretons
burn the
town of
Plymouth.**

While Henry was thus employed in the north of England, the court of France resolved to take advantage of the troubles of the nation. The duke of Orleans intended to make a descent upon the English coast, while John the young duke of Burgundy should undertake the siege of Calais: but Henry's success against the rebels defeated these projects; though the French ministry encouraged the inhabitants of Bretagne to commit depredations upon the English. They accordingly fitted out a number of ships, with which they harraressed the western coast, and even plundered the town of Plymouth. Henry, complaining of this violation of the truce, and receiving very little satisfaction from the French court, permitted the inhabitants of Plymouth to make reprisals; and they equipped a small fleet, of which they gave the command to William Wilford, who took vengeance effectually upon the Bretons, by burning and pillaging all the open towns and villages on the coast of that province.

Ag. Pub.

A. C. 1404.

**Northum-
berland is
acquitted by
his peers.
Concessions
of the king
in parlia-
ment.**

The parliament meeting at Westminster on the fourteenth day of January, the earl of Northumberland presented a petition to the king, imploring his clemency, and the performance of the promise of pardon which he had made at York. Henry referred this petition to the judges; but the lords entered a protest against this reference, declaring, that judgment in cases of treason belonged to them only. Then they took into consideration the charge against the earl, and pronounced that the facts alleged against him did not amount to treason nor felony, but only a trespass, for which the said earl ought to make fine and ransom to his majesty.

Thus acquitted, the earl petitioned that he might renew his oath of allegiance, which he swore anew upon the cross of Canterbury; and then the king remitted his fine and ransom. The commons having thanked the king and lords in full parliament for their just and equitable judgment, petitioned that his majesty would abolish all animosities subsisting among the noblemen of the realm; and at his command, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland embraced each other with marks of the most perfect reconciliation, promising that they themselves, and their tenants and vassals, should for the future live in peace and amity. The earl of Dunbar was likewise reconciled to Northumberland; and the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of York, with several prelates and lords, suspected of having been concerned in the late conspiracy, were cleared by the king, and declared true and loyal subjects. Certain Bretons who came over with the queen, being suspected of carrying on a correspondence with the French, articles of complaint were presented against the king's confessor, the abbot of Dore, and two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who were immediately dismissed by the king; and his majesty declared that he would retain no person in his service that should be disagreeable to his people. Then the commons petitioned that he would remove all foreigners from his household, except five or six who attended the queen's daughters; and he forthwith complied with their request. Emboldened by these instances of condescension, they represented to the king, that the present state of his affairs required great management and œconomy. They desired he would resume all the grants on the duchy of Cornwall, made by himself or his predecessors, that they might be re-annexed to the crown for the maintenance of the prince of Wales; they requested that he would

A. C. 1404.

not grant away the profits of his castles, which were repaired at the charge of the nation, but that he would settle the expence of his household upon a certain establishment. The king made satisfactory answers to all these petitions; reduced the charges of his family to ten thousand one hundred pounds a year; declared his intention to reform the abuses which had crept into his housekeeping; and assured the commons, by the mouth of the archbishop of Canterbury, that the proceedings of the common law should not for the future be disturbed or delayed by letters under the privy-seal, or any other interposition whatever. In the mean time, he desired the parliament would take orders for discharging the debts of his household, and appoint treasurers to inspect the management of the money appropriated for the service of the public. How this money was raised does not appear in the proceedings of this parliament: though we are told by a certain historian, that a very oppressive tax was imposed upon the people, on condition that it should not be drawn into a precedent; and that no evidence of such a tax should be preserved in the treasury or exchequer. No briefs or commissions were issued for bringing the collectors to account; and all the writings and entries of this extraordinary aid were committed to the flames. A general pardon had been published in favour of all the adherents and abettors of the earl of Worcester and the lord Henry Percy, provided they would submit before the sixth day of January; and now an act of grace was passed for all treasons, insurrections, and misdemeanors, except rapes, murders, forging royal seals, and false coining, extending to the fourteenth day of January, in favour of all persons, except such as were actually imprisoned for those offences.

Walsing.

Rymer.

Hostilities
between the
English and
Bretons.

During this session, a body of Bretons landed near Portland, and burned some villages; but were repulsed

repulsed by the inhabitants, and afterwards defeated at sea by the English fleet, which took their admiral Chastel, and the greater part of his armament. A petty war was carried on between the Bretons and the English, tho' both courts disclaimed the hostilities that were committed. The duke of Orleans entered Guienne, and made an attempt upon the town of Bergi, but was obliged to retire with loss, by the valour of Sir Robert Anteville, who defended the place with a garrison of three hundred Englishmen. The duke's conduct was influenced by a personal aversion to Henry; and the French ministry connived at these infringements of the truce, in hope that some insurrection in England, joined to the efforts of Glendourdwyl, would afford an opportunity to declare open war against Henry, whom they considered as an usurper. He was well acquainted with their sentiments, and found it convenient to temporize, until he should have triumphed over all domestic opposition. It certainly was his interest to avoid a war with his neighbours at such a juncture; and for that reason, he not only winked at the insults which he suffered from the French, but even solicited a truce with Scotland, which was concluded in the month of July, to continue till the ensuing Easter.

He seemed to understand and pursue his interest with equal discernment and perseverance; except in one particular point, which was now become an object well worthy of his most serious attention. This was the progress of Glendourdwyl, who had lately reduced the castles of Harlegh and Aberystwith, defeated a strong body of English at Craigy-dorth near Monmouth, and ravaged the country as far as the banks of the Severne: in a word, he proceeded with such rapidity of success, that no Englishman on the Marches could pretend to possess his estate, without submitting to his dominion; and he was joined by a great number of Henry's subjects,

An impostor personates Richard in Scotland.

A. C. 1404. among whom was Trevor bishop of St. Asaph. The king seemed averse to another expedition into Wales, where he had been already so unfortunate: and at present he was restrained from prosecuting that war, by a ferment in the midst of his kingdom, raised by a very trivial incident. The idle report of Richard's being alive was now revived, and gained more credit than ever. Orse Serle, who had been his domestic, repaired to Scotland to see his old master, and engaging as an accomplice in the deceit, wrote letters to different people in England, assuring them that king Richard was in being and in good health. The evidence of a man, who could not possibly be mistaken in the person of a prince whom he had long attended, produced such an effect, that one half of the nation was deceived by the imposture, which was greatly assisted by the old countess of Oxford, mother of the duke of Ireland, who had been attainted in the reign of Richard. This lady not only pretended to confirm the report from her own knowledge, but presented a great number of persons, in his name, with little hearts made of silver, like those with which that prince used to distinguish his favourites. The king, alarmed at the consequence of this deceit, which was propagated and supported in all parts of the kingdom by artful monks, who acted as her emissaries, arrested the countess, who was confined to close prison, and deprived of her estate; and some of her agents were convicted and executed as seditious impostors. As the earl of Northumberland was suspected of favouring the cheat, Henry made a progress to Pontefract, where that nobleman surrendered himself, with all his grandsons and descendants; so that the king was fully convinced of his innocence: though he obliged the earl to give up the town and castle of Berwick, and the fortress and forest of Jedburgh, with all its appurtenances; in consideration of which Henry agreed

agreed to gratify him and his heirs with an equivalent, by the advice of the parliament or council. Serle, being tired with maintaining the person who had assumed the name of Richard, addressed himself to Sir William Clifford governor of Berwick, whom he knew to be upon bad terms with Henry; but that officer, instead of supplying him with money to carry on the imposture, made his peace with the king, by delivering him up to justice. Finding himself convicted and condemned, he not only explained the deceit, but owned that he had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Gloucester at Calais; so that he justly suffered the death of a traitor, and the nation was at length disabused. A. C. 1404.
Speed.

This alarm being past, the king resolved to act against Glendourdwyr with his whole power, so as to reduce that rebel in one campaign; but as he wanted money to defray the expence of the expedition, he convoked a parliament at Coventry on the sixth day of October; and as he had always been thwarted in his measures by the meddling clergy and practitioners of the law, who piqued themselves upon knowing the constitution, he stretched his prerogative in a very unjustifiable manner, by inserting a clause in the writ of summons, excluding all persons who understood the law from being elected; and when the members were returned, it was not without reason that they acquired the name of the Illiterate Parliament. Proceedings
of the illi-
terate par-
liament. The bishop of Lincoln, who was Henry's brother, and chancellor of England, observed, in his speech at the opening of the session, that the supplies granted by the late parliament had not been adequate to the necessities of the government; and that it was absolutely necessary to vote a considerable subsidy for the reduction of Wales, and the defence of the kingdom from foreign adversaries, as the truce with

A. C. 1404.

Scotland would expire in the spring, and the French ministry seemed very much disposed to an open rupture with England. The commons, by way of answer to this demand, went in a body and presented an address to the king, importing, that without burthening his people, he might relieve the necessities of the state by seizing the revenues of the clergy, who possessed one third of the riches in the kingdom, and ought to contribute largely to the occasions of the government, as they were totally exempted from personal service. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, when they delivered this address, perceiving by the king's countenance that the proposal was not at all disagreeable, stood up and opposed it with great vehemence. He refuted the allegations in the address, by representing, that although the clergy did not serve personally in the wars, they could not therefore be deemed useless members of society; inasmuch as they sent their vassals and tenants to serve in the army, when their service was required. He said, that in stripping the clergy of their possessions, he would put a stop to the prayers which they offered up incessantly to heaven for the prosperity of the state; and that he could not expect God would vouchsafe his protection to the kingdom, if so little regard should be paid to the interest of the clergy. He desired the commons to take notice, that they would not find it an easy matter to deprive the clergy of their possessions, without exposing the kingdom to the most dangerous convulsions; and declared, that while he occupied the see of Canterbury, he would oppose such injustice to the last moment of his life. He then fell upon his knees before the king, and conjured him, as he valued his eternal salvation, to avoid a step which would not only be a direct violation of his coronation oath, but also oblige the clergy to proceed to such ecclesiastical censures, as would

A. C. 1404.

would throw the whole kingdom into confusion. Henry, startled perhaps at this last insinuation, assured him that his fears were altogether without foundation; for that he was firmly determined to execute the resolution he had made when he ascended the throne, and would maintain the church in all her rights and privileges. The archbishop, encouraged by this assurance, turned to the commons, and rebuked them severely for their presumption in presenting such an address, which was the effect of impiety and avarice. Notwithstanding this reproof, to which they made no reply, they persisted in their resolution, and brought in a bill for seizing the revenues of the clergy; but these last had such influence among the nobility, that it was thrown out by the house of lords; and the commons were obliged to devise other ways and means for supplying the king's necessities. After some debate, they, with the assent of the lords, granted a considerable subsidy on wool and wool-fells, wine, and other merchandize; on condition that it should be applied to the expence of the war and the defence of the realm, under the inspection of the lord Furnival and Sir John Pelham, appointed treasurers for that purpose. The ancient inheritance of the crown having been parcelled out in grants to private persons, the commons complained of such alienation; and not only advised a resumption, but enacted a statute, empowering the king to take, for one year, the profits of all annuities, fees, or wages, granted since the reign of Edward III. excepting, however, from this resumption, certain officers of state, justices, barons of the exchequer, and other ministers of any of his courts of judicature. It was also decreed, that he should enjoy for the like term all hereditaments alienated from the crown, except such as were granted to the queen, or the royal family, or confirmed to the possessor by act of parliament.

Walsing.

A. C. 1404. They resolved to make proclamation, that all who possessed patents of any annual value, granted since the fortieth year of Edward III. should, on pain of forfeiture, bring them in by a certain day appointed, that the merits of the possessors might be examined, and their patents continued and revoked accordingly. After these steps towards a reformation of the revenues, the commons, upon a petition of the prince of Wales, exhibited in parliament, voted him a thousand marks a year for maintaining a body of men to defend the Welsh Marches. They recommended the king's sons John and Humphrey to their father for honourable preferment. They, in an address to his majesty, desired the duke of York might receive the arrears due to him for his services in Guienne, which they hoped the king would not forget; and requested that he would order restitution to be made to Richard, brother to the duke of York, of some valuable jewels which were in the hands of the late king.

A. C. 1405.

The countess of Gloucester conveys the earl of Marche's two sons from Windsor.

Henry himself was suspected of having contrived the scheme against the clergy, which the commons had attempted to execute; and this supposition raised a good number of enemies against him in that formidable body. The kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent, industriously fomented by the emissaries of those, who either wished well to the heir of blood, or smarted from the severity of the reigning king, or dreaded the designs of his policy, and the rapaciousness of his avarice, which was not yet satisfied with the great sum belonging to Richard that fell into his hands; and the exorbitant subsidies granted by parliament. The nation in general seemed ripe for revolt, and naturally turned their eyes upon Mortimer, who still remained in captivity. Henry, far from treating for his ransom, had seized his children, and confined them in the castle of Windsor, as hostages.

for

for the conduct of their father, whom the king suspected of intrigues against his government, in conjunction with Glendourdy. The countess dowager of Thomas Spenser earl of Gloucester, who had been beheaded at Bristol, undertook to effect the deliverance of those children; and, by means of false keys, that opened the locks under which they were confined, accomplished their escape from Windsor: she had even conveyed them as far as the Marches of Wales, when she was seized by the officers of Henry, who ordered the sons of Mortimer to be more closely confined and narrowly watched for the future. The countess being examined before the council, not only confessed that she had been instigated to this attempt by her brother the duke of York, but also accused him of having formed a design to scale the walls of Eltham, and take away the life of his sovereign. She even offered to maintain the charge by William Maydeston her esquire, who undertook to be her champion: the duke of York accepted the challenge, in order to prove his innocence. Nevertheless his estate was confiscated, and himself committed prisoner to the castle of Pevensey, where he continued until all the disturbances in the North were suppressed.

Rymer.

The king justly concluding from this attempt, that something else of more consequence would be undertaken in favour of Mortimer's claim, thought it high time to take effectual measures against his Welsh ally. He assembled a body of forces, the command of which he bestowed upon the prince of Wales, who marched thither in the spring, and routed part of the Welsh army. He still continued to advance after this action; and, in two months, fought another battle, near Grosmont in Monmouthshire, against a body of eight thousand men, commanded by Griffith, eldest son of Owen Glen-

The French court favours Owen Glendourdy.

A.C. 1405. Glendourdw, who was routed and taken prisoner; his uncle Tudor being killed upon the spot. He resembled his brother so exactly, that his body being found among the slain, was mistaken for Owen; and this report, added to the bad success of the battle, overwhelmed the Welsh with consternation. The prince of Wales, after his victory, advancing farther into South Wales, invested the castle of Lampader in Cardiganshire; and the garrison agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the first day of October. The Welsh would have been dispirited by this bad success, had not they been amused by France, from which they expected powerful assistance. The duke of Orleans, who governed that kingdom, payed no regard to the truce subsisting with England. He engaged in a league with Glendourdw; sent the constable d'Albret and the count d'Armagnac with an army into Guienne, where they reduced sixty places belonging to the English. The duke himself made an attempt upon Bourg and Blaye: the duke of Burgundy resolved to undertake the siege of Calais; and, in order to facilitate the enterprize, the count of St. Pol attempted to surprise the castle of Merck but he was repulsed by the garrison of Calais, ever after he had made a lodgment in the court-yard of the castle.

Revolt of
the arch-
bishop of
York and
Mowbray
earl mar-
chal.

Henry guessed from these insolent infraction what he had to expect from the French ministry in case his affairs should assume an unfavourable aspect in England; and for that reason was very solicitous to suppress the Welsh rebellion. He has assembled a council of the nobility, in order to obtain a supply of money, which he was ashamed ask of the parliament, because it had so lately accommodated him with a considerable subsidy: but the nobility absolutely refused to comply with request; and he met with the same repulse from

the clergy. By this time, a powerful faction was formed against his administration. Richard Scrope archbishop of York, and brother to the earl of Wiltshire, who had been beheaded at Bristol, engaged in a league with Thomas Mowbray earl marshal, and the earl of Northumberland, to make another effort to dethrone Henry, in favour of Mortimer; and the lords Bardolf, Hastings, Falconbridge, and many other noblemen and gentlemen, joined in the association. Having levied a considerable army at York, they published a manifesto against the king, containing nine articles, importing, that Henry, when he arrived in England, had protested and sworn that he came for no other purpose but the recovery of his private estate, without having any pretensions to the crown, which he nevertheless usurped: that, like an arch-traitor, he had imprisoned his sovereign, compelled him to resign his royal dignity, and then put him to death in a barbarous manner: that, since the death of Richard, he had unjustly detained the crown from Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche, to whom it lawfully belonged: that he had deprived several persons of their lives, for no other crime than that of endeavouring to reform the abuses of the government; and imprisoned bishops by his sole authority, contrary to the laws of the kingdom: that he had oppressed the people with unnecessary taxes, and intimidated them by threats from complaining of the grievance: that he had violated the privileges of the nation, and broken the oath he had taken at his coronation, by encroaching upon the freedom of elections for members of parliament: that, in a parliament held at Westminster, he had given his voluntary assent to a pernicious statute against the church of Rome, and the power conferred upon St. Peter and his successors; in consequence of which statute, simony, perjury, and other disorders

A. C. 1405. disorders were introduced among the clergy as well as the nobility, who sold vacant benefices to unqualified persons: that, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of his council, he had refused to pay the ransom of the earl of Marche; falsely charging that nobleman with having voluntarily surrendered himself prisoner to Owen Glendourwy: that these were the causes which induced them to take arms, with design to deliver the nation from the oppression of such a tyrant, and set the lawful heir upon the throne of England.

They are
outwitted
and taken by
Ralph earl
of West-
moreland.

Ralph earl of Westmoreland being apprised of their intention, raised a body of troops; and, joining the forces under John of Lancaster, warden of the East Marches, advanced against the revolting lords, in order to suppress the rebellion, before they should be joined by the earl of Northumberland. He found them encamped on Shipton-Moor, about two leagues to the northward of York; but, perceiving they already outnumbered his followers, and waited with impatience for an engagement, he altered his plan, and resolved to defeat them by stratagem or treachery. He sent an agent to propose an interview, which being granted, he met the archbishop of York, the earl marshal, and the rest of the confederate lords, in sight of both armies. There he protested that he heartily concurred with them in their concern for the welfare and prosperity of his country; and in general approved the articles of their manifesto. Then he proposed some measures for the accomplishment of their design; and cajoled them in such a manner, that they were convinced of his being a sincere well-wisher to the scheme they had projected. He called for wine, and they drank together in token of amity: he even affected to embrace them with the most cordial affection; and ordered his attendants to retire, as a proof of his confidence in their ho-

nour

hour and friendship. This frank manner of proceeding had such an effect upon the confederates, that they likewise dismissed their followers, who were no sooner out of sight, than Westmoreland's guard returned at full speed, and seized the archbishop and Mowbray, before they could receive any succour from their adherents. Their army being thus deprived of their chiefs, was seized with consternation, and dispersed immediately: the earl of Northumberland being informed of this disaster, took refuge in Berwick, of which he was governor, and from thence retired with lord Bardolfe to Scotland. Henry was on his march to the North, when the archbishop and Mowbray were surpris'd by Westmoreland, who delivered them into his majesty's hands at the castle of Pontefract. The king ordered the liberties of York to be seized; and, when he arrived at Bishopsthorp, on the eighth day of June, commanded Sir William Gascoigne, chief justice of England, to try the archbishop for high treason: but he declining the office, Sir William Fulthorp, another judge, pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor; and he was beheaded immediately after condemnation.

He had acquired such a character for sanctity, and died with such composure and resolution, that the common people looked upon him as a martyr; and he was said to work miracles after death. He was the first bishop that ever suffered death in England, by a sentence of the civil judge; and the pope was so much incensed at this infringement of ecclesiastical liberty, that he excommunicated all who were concerned in his death and condemnation. Mowbray earl mareschal suffered in the same manner, without arraignment, trial, or defence; and heavy fines were imposed upon the rest who had been engaged in the insurrection. The lands and castles belonging to the earl of Northumberland and the lord

A. C. 1405. lord Bardolfe were confiscated; and all the military tenants of the crown summoned to meet at Newcastle, from whence the king proposed to march in person, and undertake the siege of Berwick. Before he approached the place, those two noblemen had fled to Scotland, leaving the command of the town to Sir William Greystock, who was well prepared for a vigorous defence. But one of the towers being demolished by the shot from a large piece of cannon, the garrison was so intimidated, that he was obliged to surrender the place without farther resistance. Werkworth, Alnwick, and the earl's other castles in that country, were reduced with equal ease by Henry, who, having quelled the commotions of the North, directed his arms against Owen Glendourdw, by this time rendered more and more formidable by his French alliance. While the king was employed in settling the affairs of the North, the mareschal de Montmorency arrived in Wales with a numerous fleet, from which he landed twelve thousand men; then, joining Glendourdw, took Caermarthen, Worcester, and several other places, ravaging the country with fire and sword, and carrying off an immense booty. Henry began his march from the North, in order to stop the progress of those invaders; but he was retarded in such a manner by bad weather, that, before he arrived in the Marches of Wales, the French auxiliaries were embarked, and the season so far advanced, that he could undertake nothing of consequence against Owen, who found means to intercept fifty waggons, laden with provisions and money for the subsistence of the army. This misfortune hastened his retreat towards London, where he applied to the bishops for a fresh supply, which was granted in the next convocation.

A. C. 1406. All the disturbances within the kingdom of England being now suppressed, Henry convoked a parliament

The earl of Northumberland and the lord Bardolfe fly into Scotland.

Walsing. Rymer.

liament in the beginning of March; and, in order to render the members propitious to his designs, gave his assent, without scruple, to an act for securing the freedom of elections, which he himself had encroached upon in the last parliament. Then he demanded a supply, which they bluntly refused; alledging, that their former subsidies had been squandered away without any benefit to the nation. Henry was extremely incensed at this mortifying repulse, but dissembled his resentment, and resolved to tire them into compliance. The session was continued till the latter end of August, to the infinite prejudice of their private affairs, and great expence of the constituents who payed their wages; and then they voted a subsidy, under such restrictions, however, that Henry could not touch above six thousand pounds for his own use, the rest having been appropriated to the public services. A statute was enacted, intailing the crown upon Henry's sons, and their male issue; but as this was a deviation from the usual course of succession, the act was afterwards repealed, and a settlement made upon the heirs general, that the females might not be excluded. During the session of this parliament, the king carried on a private negotiation with some Scottish noblemen, who promised to deliver the earl of Northumberland and the lord Bardolfe into his hands, on condition that he would release without ransom their relations who had been taken at the battle of Holmedon. The fugitive lords had taken refuge with the lord Fleming, a nobleman of honour, who receiving intimation of the scandalous compact, assisted his guests in making their escape to North Wales, where they met with a cordial reception from Glendourdwyl.

The contract between Henry and the Scots was managed by the duke of Albany, brother to Robert III. king of Scotland, who, having designs upon

A. C. 1405.

Henry tampered with the Scots, in order to get those noblemen in his power.

Rot. Parl.

The prince of Scotland detained as a prisoner by Henry.

A. C. 1406. upon the crown to the prejudice of his nephews, maintained a friendly correspondence with Henry, who he hoped would assist him in his usurpation. Robert was a prince of such weak intellects, and so slothful and irresolute, that the duke of Albany had already engrossed the whole administration, and gained such an ascendancy over the king, that the simple monarch durst not avow his sentiments on those subjects that most nearly concerned the interest of his own family. The duke, on pretence of some irregularities, had extorted an order from Robert to confine his eldest son David prince of Scotland in the castle of Falkland, where that unhappy prince was starved to death by his inhuman uncle. The father being apprised of this tragedy, and afraid of taking vengeance upon the perfidious actor, resolved to remove his other son James without the reach of Albany's influence, and sent him on board of a ship to be conveyed to France for his education. This young prince, who had attained the fourteenth year of his age, was provided with two tutors, whom the father furnished with letters of recommendation, not only to the French ministry, but also to Henry king of England, in case the prince should be driven into any part of his territories by stress of weather. James being very much incommoded by the nausea, to which many people are subject at sea, was set ashore on the coast of Norfolk. There he was immediately apprehended and brought to Henry, who committed him prisoner to the Tower, in violation of the truce that still subsisted between the two nations; and the rights of hospitality, to the benefit of which he was pathetically recommended by his unhappy father. That prince died of grief in three days after he received the tidings of his son's captivity; and the duke of Albany continued to act as regent of the kingdom, in which capacity he renewed the truce with England.

In

In the course of this year, the French fleet approached the coast of Wales, in order to succour Owen Glendourdw; but being overtaken by a terrible tempest, the greater number of their vessels perished, and the remainder returned to Brittany in a shattered condition. Mean while the city of London was afflicted with a dreadful plague, that swept off vast numbers of the inhabitants; and the king, in order to avoid the contagion, resided in the castle of Ledes in Kent. Having passed part of the summer in this habitation, he resolved to visit another country-house in Norfolk by sea, and went on board of a small vessel, attended by four ships loaded with his baggage and domestics. In this short voyage he was attacked by the French cruisers, who took all his servants and equipage, while he himself escaped with the utmost difficulty, not without suspecting that he had been betrayed by some of his domestics. This year is likewise remarkable for the death of the famous Sir Robert Knolles, who had acquired so much military reputation in the reign of Edward III. and now died in Kent in extreme old age, after having lived in private many years, universally esteemed and beloved for his humanity and benevolence.

A. C. 1406.
The king narrowly escapes being taken at sea.

Walsing.

Henry's affairs had been so situated since his accession to the throne, that he had never been able to spare the troops for the defence of Guienne; and the French taking advantage of his neglect in this particular, made a constant practice of wresting the places of that province out of his hands, either by open force, or bribing the governors to surrender. The duke of Orleans, who had all along treated Henry with the most provoking insolence, made another fruitless attempt upon Bourg and Blaye, while the duke of Burgundy renewed his scheme of besieging Calais. He did not venture, however, to engage in this enterprize; and loudly

A. C. 1407.
The duke of Orleans assassinated by direction of the duke of Burgundy.

A. C. 1407. complained that the duke of Orleans had wilfully thrown obstacles in the way of his design. The quarrel between these two princes of the blood proceeded to such a degree of rancour, that Orleans was assassinated by the emissaries of Burgundy, who avowed the murder with impunity, although the defunct was the king's own brother. The death of the duke of Orleans, who had encouraged and protected the Bretons in their hostilities against the English, alarmed that people with apprehensions of their being left at the mercy of England, in case an accommodation should be effected between the two crowns; they therefore willingly listened to Henry's proposal of a truce for one year, before the expiration of which they thought they should be able to judge of the system of politics which the French court would pursue. Henry was not ignorant of their views, though he dissembled his sentiments, and laid it down as a maxim, that it was more prudent to temporize with his neighbours, than be exposed to the insults of his own subjects. He concluded, at this period, a treaty of commerce with the duke of Burgundy and the states of Flanders; and in October convened a parliament at Gloucester, where he demanded a subsidy, which introduced an inquiry into the application of the last aid granted in parliament. Warm debates arose on this subject; and the king's conduct was censured with great freedom. But at length they granted a subsidy, though upon express condition that he would not demand another aid for two years, nor load the subjects with any new charge or imposition. Henry received it on these terms; and copies of the statute were delivered to the members, that they might exhibit them in their respective counties.

Act. Pub.

Henry concludes a truce with the Bretons.

The king's son, Thomas of Lancaster, had been sent plenipotentiary into France, with full powers

to conclude a definitive treaty with that kingdom; and the French court appointed the duke of Berry to treat with him upon the subject; but all the result of their negotiation was a truce with Guienne for a few months, which the French employed in assisting the Welsh rebels. The prince of Wales had made considerable progress against Glendourdy, insomuch that the parliament expressed their satisfaction with his conduct: but he seems to have been restricted in point of troops or money; for though he reduced the castle of Aberystwith, he could not prevent its being immediately recovered by Owen, assisted by the French, and reinforced with the counsels of Northumberland and Bardolfe. These noblemen had made application to the courts of France and Scotland, which amused them with promises of assistance. But now that the duke of Orleans was dead, and the truce between England and the duke of Albany renewed, they had very little reason to expect succour from those quarters; and resolved, by the help of their own friends, and the other malcontents of the nation, to raise an insurrection in the north of England. For this purpose, they went thither and assembled a large number of troops, which were reinforced by a body of Scottish freebooters, and retook several castles which the king had reduced after the battle of Shrewsbury. Henry was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he summoned his military tenants, resolving to march in person against the rebels, who having advanced as far as Thirsk in the North Riding of Yorkshire, published a manifesto, declaring their intention was to redress the grievances of the nation, and inviting all its well-wishers to join them in such a laudable undertaking. They were accordingly joined by great numbers of the country people, ill armed, and totally ignorant of discipline, who committed terrible

A. C. 1407.

Rot. Parl.
The earl of
Northum-
berland and
lord Bar-
dolfe raise
an insurrec-
tion in the
North, and
are defeated
and slain by
Rokeby she-
riff of
Yorkshire.

A. C. 1408.

A. C. 1463. outrages in their march, and proceeded in the utmost disorder. Sir Thomas Rokeby sheriff of Yorkshire, knowing the king was in full march against them with a considerable army, summoned the freeholders of the county, with their vassals, and took possession of the pass at Knaresborough, which they would not attempt to force; but turning off towards Wolherby, continued their route to Tadcaster, from whence they marched to Braham-Moor, where the earl drew them up in order of battle. The sheriff followed them at some distance, in order to watch their motions; and being joined in his march by a considerable number of gentlemen in the neighbourhood, resolved to give the rebels battle without further hesitation. The earl of Northumberland was prepared for the attack; his followers, however, did not long sustain the onset. The engagement began with great fury on both sides; but the rebel army, consisting either of raw undisciplined people irregularly armed, or such as served in hope of plunder, were soon broken and routed, in spite of all the efforts of the earl of Northumberland, who was killed on the field of battle. The lord Bardolfe died of his wounds; the abbot of Hales being taken in armour, was hanged; but the bishop of Bangor's life was spared, because, though taken on the spot, he was found in his ordinary habit. Henry had advanced as far as Nottingham, where he received the news of this victory; notwithstanding which, he continued his march northwards as far as York, where he punished the surviving rebels with death, fine, or forfeiture; and rewarded Rokeby with the manor of Spofford, part of Northumberland's forfeited estate.

Chron. Otterbourn. Rymers. Glendourdwys's affairs decline.

After the defeat and death of the earl of Northumberland, Owen Glendourdwys's affairs declined apace. Prince Henry was so active and successful in his operations, that, in the course of this year, he

he completed the conquest of South-Wales, and reduced Harlech in Merionethshire; so that Owen was in a manner besieged in Snowdon, where he was greatly straitened for subsistence. From thence he detached part of his troops to ravage Shropshire, under the command of Rees Du and Philpot Scudamore, his two best officers, who were defeated, taken, and executed at London. As Owen's fortune began to change, he was gradually forsaken by the best part of his adherents, who submitted, and were pardoned by prince Henry. He himself might have enjoyed the same indulgence, could he have stooped to such submission: but he chose rather to lead the remainder of his life as an independent vagrant, shifting from place to place, than to purchase safety and ease at the expence of freedom. For two years he led this wandering life, sometimes at the head of a party, and sometimes quite solitary; and at last died at his daughter's house in Herefordshire, where he was entertained in the disguise of a shepherd. The success of Henry's arms was not limited to England and Wales. The commerce of the kingdom having been greatly distressed by the pirates of Brittany, the king sent the earl of Kent, with a strong squadron, against the town of Brehac, which was the chief nest of those corsairs. That nobleman attacked the place with great gallantry; but the Bretons made such a vigorous defence, that he was repulsed, after having received a wound in his head which proved mortal. The English, enraged at the death of their commander, gave another assault with such fury, that they carried the place, put all who were found in arms to the sword, and brought the rest as prisoners to England.

The schism in the church still continuing, thro' a succession of popes and antipopes, the princes of Christendom, in order to abolish a contest which reflected disgrace upon religion, and exposed all

Schism in
the church
continued.

A. C. 1409. Europe to numberless inconveniencies and vexations, prevailed upon the cardinals of each party, to convoke a general council at Pisa, to which Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. the competitors for the papacy, were summoned to make good their pretensions. As they did not think proper to appear, the council declared them perjured heretics, and stripped them both of the pontifical dignity which they assumed. At the same time the cardinals being empowered to chuse a new pontiff, elected Peter Philargi, a Candiot, who took the name of Alexander V. Before the meeting of the council, Henry had writ a letter to Gregory, exhorting him to resign his pretensions with a good grace: but this remonstrance having produced no effect, the king was no sooner informed of the new election, than he published a proclamation, commanding his subjects to acknowledge pope Alexander. The clergy of England were not so much disturbed by the schism, as by the progress of Wicliff's doctrine, which seemed to thrive under persecution; so that the number of its followers daily increased, and some doctors of Oxford maintained it publicly, both by preaching and writing, until the bishops obtained an order from the king, commanding the heads of the university to meet and examine the books of Wicliff. As the greater number was still attached to the old doctrine, the books were condemned; and all the members of the university forbid to teach or preach the doctrines they contained, on pain of degradation.

AA Pub.

A. C. 1410.

The king
and com-
mons dis-
agree.

A parliament meeting at Westminster on the twenty-seventh day of January, several provisions were made against alienations; and the commons brought in a bill against frauds in returning-officers, to which the king assented with reluctance. Then he demanded a subsidy to defray the expence of the government; and the commons took this occasion to renew their address against the clergy. The ma-
jority

jority of that house leaned towards Lollardism; and therefore they presented two addresses to his majesty; in one of which they represented, that the clergy made a bad use of their wealth, converting it to purposes widely different from those for which it was intended by the original donors: that their revenues, being sufficient to maintain one hundred and fifty earls, fifteen hundred barons, six thousand two hundred knights, and one hundred hospitals, ought to be appropriated to these uses; in which case the kingdom would be in a better posture of defence, the poor more comfortably supported, and the clergy more attentive to their duty. In the other address, the commons petitioned that the act passed against the Lollards might be repealed, or at least mitigated, for the ease of the subject. Henry, being no longer over-awed by the fear of intestine trouble and foreign invasion, began to discover that arbitrary disposition which he had hitherto endeavoured to conceal. Instead of complying as formerly with the demands of his commons, he replied, with great severity, that he neither would nor could consent to their petitions, and peremptorily forbade them to meddle for the future with the affairs of the church: not that he had the least regard for the clergy, but he chose to espouse their interest in opposition to the commons, whom he was resolved to humble. With regard to the Lollards, he said, that far from assenting to the repeal of the act, he wished that a more rigorous statute might be passed, in order to extirpate such an execrable heresy. The commons, disappointed in this hope, demanded that clerks, accused of felony or other crimes, might not be judged in courts of ecclesiastical judicature, because daily experience proved that such malefactors always escaped the punishment they deserved to undergo. This request was likewise rejected by Henry, who affected upon

A.C. 1410. this occasion an extraordinary zeal for the ecclesiastical interest. He seemed bent upon mortifying the commons; for, though he knew they were in general favourers of Wickliff's tenets, he signed a death warrant against one Bodby, a taylor, who had exclaimed against the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament. That poor fanatic was brought to the stake; and, when the fire began to consume his body, uttered such dismal shrieks and exclamations, that the prince of Wales, who was present at the execution, commanded the fire to be extinguished. When the miserable victim recollected his spirits, the prince offered to procure his pardon, and allow him a pension for life, if he would recant: but he refused to live upon such terms; and, the fire being re-kindled, died a martyr to his persuasion. The commons considered the execution of this man as an outrageous aggravation of the refusal they had already sustained; and seized the first opportunity to manifest their resentment. When the king demanded permission to levy a certain yearly subsidy, even though the parliament should not be assembled, they rejected the proposal with marks of asperity; nor would they have granted a subsidy for the occasions of the state, had not he repeated his former expedient of detaining them until they were tired into complaisance.

Walsing.

The success
of the Eng-
lish at sea.

In the course of this year, the truce with Scotland expiring, hostilities were renewed on the borders, and the Scottish cruizers interrupted the navigation and trade of the English. In order to chastise these adventurers, Robert de Humfreville, vice-admiral of England, entered the Frith of Edinburgh with ten capital ships, and not only destroyed the naval force of Scotland, but ravaged the whole coast; from whence he brought off such a booty in goods, corn, and cattle, as removed the horrors of a dearth in the north of England; where he acquired

quired the appellation of Robert Mendmarket. At the same time Sir John Pendergrace and William Long were sent to sea, with a fleet to act against the French corsairs, of which they effectually scourged the channel: but, whether they had entered into some private engagement with Henry touching the prizes, which agreement they did not observe, or offended him in some other particulars of their conduct; he issued a warrant to arrest Pendergrace when he came ashore; and that officer was obliged to take sanctuary in the porch of Westminster-Abbey, where he was surrounded by a guard of soldiers, and continued for some time, until he thought proper to throw himself upon the mercy of the king, who committed him to prison. Thomas Beaufort, admiral of England, was sent with a squadron in pursuit of Long, who would not submit until he had obtained a capitulation, by which he was exempted from all prosecution.

About this period, several negotiations were carried on in different parts of the continent, and produced a prolongation of the truce with France for five years, with Castile for two, and with Brittany for ten: but a treaty was concluded with the duke of Burgundy, the nature of which it will not be improper to explain. After this prince had effected the assassination of the duke of Orleans, he retired to his dominions in Flanders, with a view to restore the brother of his dutchess, who had been expelled from the bishopric of Liege by the inhabitants of that city. While he was employed in making preparations for this war, the dutchess of Orleans, with her three sons, went to the French court, and, throwing themselves at the king's feet, demanded justice against the murderer of his brother. Although the duke of Burgundy had obtained his pardon for this murder, his enemies had such credit with the court, that the pardon was re-

A. C. 1411.
State of affairs at the French court.

Act Pub.

voked,

A.C. 1411. voked, and he declared an enemy to the state. Mean while the duke marched against the Liegeois, over whom he obtained a complete victory, which was no sooner known at Paris, than his adversaries left that city, where he had a great number of partisans, and retired to Tours with the king, who was not in a condition to regulate his own conduct. The duke of Burgundy, being informed of these transactions, set out immediately at the head of four thousand horse for Paris, where he was received with triumphal honours; and the citizens, at his desire, sent deputies to the king, to request that he would return to their city. Charles, who happened to be in one of his lucid intervals, declared that he would not countenance the enemies of the duke of Burgundy; and, returning immediately to Paris, employed some of the most considerable persons of the state to mediate an accommodation between that prince and the children of his brother the duke of Orleans. With great difficulty they succeeded in their endeavours: the young duke of Orleans, who had just attained the sixteenth year of his age, found himself obliged to be reconciled to his mortal enemy; and his mother died of grief at the triumph of her husband's murderer, who now seized the reins of the administration.

Mezerai.

Blockade of
Paris raised
by the duke
of Bur-
gundy.

Henry of England, having always at heart an alliance with France, resolved if possible to effect a match between the prince of Wales and one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy: but this prince was not so well established as the king of England imagined. The dukes of Berry, Orleans, Alençon, and Brittany, with the counts of Clermont and Armagnac, assembling at Gien, formed an association against the duke of Burgundy, and advanced at the head of an army towards Paris. Their antagonist, who had the king in his power, af-

affembled a body of forces, and prepared for their reception ; but both fides feemed averfe to a battle, which muft have been fatal to France, whatever party might have gained the victory. Measures were therefore taken for an accommodation, which was concluded, on condition that the duke of Burgundy fhould quit Paris ; that the confederates fhould not enter that city, nor any chief of either faction repair to court, unlefs commanded to give his attendance, by letters under the great feal. The duke of Burgundy, in conformity with this agreement, retired to the Low Countries ; but the confederates did not act with the fame fcrupulous integrity : the other was no fooner arrived in his own territories, than they levied another army, and approached Paris, in hope of enriching themfelves with the plunder of that city, which was of the Burgundian faction. The place was accordingly invefted ; and the duke, finding himfelf duped by the perfidy of his enemies, immediately concluded an alliance with the king of England, who fent a confiderable body of archers to his affiftance. Thus reinforced, the duke began his march ; but the Flemings and Picards, who compofed his army, quarelling after he had reduced the town of Ham, difperfed and returned to their own habitations ; fo that the duke found himfelf abandoned by all but the Englifh auxiliaries, under the earl of Arundel, amounting to eight hundred men at arms and one thoufand bowmen. With thefe he proceeded to Paris, the blockade of which had been fome time formed by the duke of Orleans ; and, forcing his way through the quarters of the enemy, entered the city, amidft the acclamations of the people. As the Englifh troops were not very agreeable to the inhabitants, who looked upon them through the mift of national prejudice, the duke refolved to employ his auxiliaries in action, not doubting
but

A. C. 1411. but their exploits would soon reconcile them to the Parisians. On the very next day after their arrival, he ordered them to attack the important posts of Montmartre and La Chappelle, from which they drove the enemy with great slaughter; and in a few days after this achievement, they attacked St. Cloud, which was defended by Viri and Bournonville, two officers of equal courage and experience, at the head of the best troops in France: but, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the defendants, the English, supported by a body of Picards and Parisians, carried on the assault with such irresistible fury, that the place was taken, about nine hundred gentlemen put to the sword, and a great number taken prisoners. The loss of these places obliged the duke of Orleans to raise the blockade of Paris, and retire towards the provinces, where his troops dispersed. After his retreat the duke of Burgundy reduced all the castles and fortresses in the Isle of France, which had been seized by the other faction; and his success encouraged great part of the kingdom to declare in his favour.

Walſing.

Henry paſſes
an act of
amneſty.

Mean while the English parliament, meeting on the twelfth day of November, were so well pleased with the French expedition, that, in an address to his majesty, they desired thanks might be given to the prince and the rest of the counsellors, appointed by the last parliament to superintend the application of the public money. Then they petitioned that a general amnesty, under the great seal, might be passed in favour of all his majesty's subjects; and the king complied with their request: excepting no persons from that act of grace but Owen Glendourdw, with his confederates, and those who were guilty of rape or murder. In consideration of this concession, the commons granted a subsidy for the occasions of the king; and some regulations were made touching the reformation of
the

the coin, which had been notoriously adulterated. A. C. 1411.
 Upon this occasion his three sons, John, Thomas, and Humphrey, were created dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester; and Henry's own brother was made earl of Dorset.

Charles king of France, recovering the use of his intellects, declared warmly in favour of the duke of Burgundy, and removed all the great officers of state, who had been engaged in the faction of Orleans, known by the name of Armagnacs, from the count of that denomination. The duke of Burgundy, thus strengthened by the whole interest of the royal family, and the favour of the Parisians, began to treat his English auxiliaries with indifference, and evade the consummation of the match between his daughter and the prince of Wales, which had been stipulated in his treaty of alliance with Henry. The chiefs of the Armagnac faction being well apprised of these circumstances, and presuming upon the resentment of Henry towards the duke, who had thus made a tool of him for his own purposes, resolved to gain him over to their interest, in hope that an alliance with England would throw the balance in their favour. Having assembled at Bourges, where they deliberated on this subject, they sent deputies to treat with Henry, and make such offers as were likely to detach him from the Burgundian faction. The duke no sooner was informed of this negotiation, than he sent ambassadors to press the conclusion of the marriage-contract, which he had hitherto eluded; and Henry pretended to receive the proposal with pleasure: but this affectation was no more than a feint, calculated to extort more advantageous terms from the faction of Armagnac; and it was attended with the desired effect. The envoys of that confederacy no longer hesitated in complying with all his demands; and the treaty was concluded

A. C. 1412.
 He concludes a treaty with the Armagnac faction.

A. C. 1412. cluded on the following terms : The confederate princes engaged to deliver into the hands of the English king fifteen hundred towns, castles, or bailliages, which they possessed in Guienne and Poytiau : To conquer for him all the rest of these provinces that remained under the dominion of France; so that he should enjoy Guienne and its dependencies, in the same manner as it was formerly enjoyed by his predecessors. On the other hand, Henry agreed that the duke of Berry should possess Poytiau for life, on condition of doing homage for it to the king of England, and surrendering to him in the mean time the towns of Poitiers, Niort, and Lusignan. As for the other places, the duke was permitted to appoint governors, who should bind themselves by oath to give them up to the king of England immediately after the death of their master. It was agreed, that the duke of Orleans should retain the dutchy of Angouleme, and the count of Armagnac certain chattelanies in Guienne, on the same conditions : and Henry undertook to supply the princes with one thousand men at arms, and three times that number of archers, to rendezvous at Bloie, where they should be received and enter into the pay of the confederates. This convention being ratified, the king bestowed the command of this reinforcement upon his second son Thomas duke of Clarence, who set out on the expedition in the month of July, accompanied by the duke of York and Thomas Beaufort lord high-admiral of England. Henry himself intended to make a voyage in person to Guienne, to take possession of the places in that dutchy, according to the stipulations of the treaty ; but he was either prevented by ill health, or diverted from his purpose by a new turn, which happened in the affairs of France at that juncture.

Rymer.

The duke of Burgundy, while the league between Henry and the French prince was upon the carpet, assembled an army and besieged them in Bourges, which they defended so vigorously, in expectation of being relieved by the English auxiliaries, that he thought proper to offer favourable terms of accommodation. As they were still uncertain with respect to the arrival of the English succours, they embraced his proposals; and the peace was ratified in all its forms. Mean while the duke of Clarence landing in Normandy, advanced towards Blois with all possible expedition, abstaining from all violence in his route, until he was informed of the accommodation; then he considered France as an enemy's country, and ravaged it accordingly. The duke of Orleans, in order to put a stop to these outrages, delivered his own brother the count de Angouleme, as an hostage for the payment of the money which was already due to the English forces; and Clarence retired to Guienne, where he recovered some places for Henry, with the assistance of the count de Armagnac and the lord of Albret, who were dissatisfied with the terms of the pacification.

A. C. 1412.

Accommodation between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans.

Henry had now survived all his troubles; and the kingdom of England enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. He had nothing to fear from France, distracted by its own intestine divisions; the Welsh sued for peace; the regent of Scotland dreaded a rupture with England, lest Henry should send home the king, who was his prisoner; and the malcontents in England were too inconsiderable to attempt any thing further against the government. During this calm, the king endeavoured to efface the impressions of severity, which his conduct had made upon the people, by affecting a popularity and regard for the welfare of the subject, which never fails to conciliate the affection of the English in

Excesses of the prince of Wales.

fa-

A. C. 1412. favour of their sovereign. While he thus laboured, not without success, to retrieve the reputation he had lost, his son the prince of Wales seemed bent upon incurring the public aversion. He gave a loose to all kinds of debauchery; and was surrounded by a crew of profligate wretches, who made a practice of committing the most illegal acts of violence. The father was extremely mortified at this degeneracy in his eldest son, who had already exhibited repeated proofs of his valour, conduct, and generosity; virtues which he now seemed to renounce; and the nation trembled at the prospect of his succeeding to the throne of England. Nevertheless, in the midst of these excesses, the nobleness of his heart seemed every now and then to emerge from the torrent by which it was overwhelmed. One of his dissolute companions having been brought to trial for some misdemeanor, was condemned, notwithstanding all the interest he could make in his favour; and he was so exasperated at the issue of the trial, that he struck the judge upon the bench. This magistrate, whose name was Sir William Gascoigne, behaved with the dignity that became his office; he forthwith ordered the prince to be committed to prison: and young Henry, by this time, conscious of the flagrant insult he had offered to the laws of his country, suffered himself to be quietly conducted to gaol by the officers of justice. When this transaction was reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he could not help exclaiming, in a transport of joy, "Happy is the king who has a magistrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon such an offender; and still more happy in having a son who will submit to such chastisement." Henry was naturally jealous of the least shadow of competition, and therefore lent an ear to officious parasites,

rafites, who insinuated that the prince had an evil A. C. 1412.
 design upon his crown and authority. Such insi-
 nuations filled his breast with anxiety; and per-
 haps he might have proceeded to some extremities,
 in order to ascertain his own security, had not all
 his suspicion been dispelled by the prudent step
 which the prince took, as soon as he was made ac-
 quainted with the jealousy of his father. He re-
 paired to the king's court in a strange habit, invent-
 ed as an emblem of the sorrow and anxiety of his
 heart. Demanding a private audience of the king,
 he threw himself on his knees, and accosted him to
 this effect: "I understand, my liege, that you
 "suspect me of harbouring designs to the prejudice
 "of your crown and person. I have indeed been
 "guilty of excesses, for which I have justly me-
 "rited your displeasure; but I take heaven to wit-
 "ness, that I never entertained a thought repug-
 "nant to that duty and veneration I owe your ma-
 "jesty. Those who accuse me of such intentions,
 "seek only to interrupt your repose, and alienate
 "your affection from your son and successor. I am
 "therefore come hither to beg you will enquire
 "into my conduct; and if I be found guilty, I
 "desire I may be punished with the utmost rigour.
 "This examination I demand, as well for the sa-
 "tisfaction of your majesty, as the vindication of
 "my own character." The king was so pleased
 with the frankness and magnanimity of this ad-
 dress, that he embraced him with great tenderness,
 declaring that his suspicions were already effaced,
 and that he would never entertain a thought for the
 future, to the prejudice of his loyalty and honour.

Henry did not long outlive this interview. He
 was seized with a distemper which some authors
 have called a leprosy, and others a kind of apo-
 plexy, which recurred in fits that deprived him
 of all sensation. This malady co-operating with

Mezerai.
 Walsing.
 Otter-
 bourne.

A. C. 1413.
 Death and
 character of
 Henry IV.

A. C. 1413. scruples of conscience, touching the means he had used to ascend the throne, and an idle prophecy importing, that he should die in Jerusalem, disposed his mind to the duties of devotion; and he took the cross with full resolution to consecrate the remaining part of his life to a war against the infidels. He imparted his design to a great council assembled for that purpose; and began to make preparations for the expedition, when his disorder increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to lay aside his intention, and think of a voyage which seemed to be of greater importance. As his constitution decayed, his fears of losing the crown redoubled, even to a childish anxiety. He would not sleep unless the royal diadem was placed by his pillow. One day he continued so long in a swoon, that his attendants believed he was actually dead, and the prince of Wales conveyed the crown into his own apartment. The king recovering the use of his senses, and perceiving the crown was removed, asked who had presumed to take it from his pillow? and understanding the prince had carried it away, ordered him to be brought immediately into his presence. When young Henry appeared, "What!" said the king, with marks of indignation, "would you rob me of my dignity before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "thinking your majesty was dead, I took the crown as my lawful inheritance; but now I see you alive, I restore it with much more pleasure; and may God grant you many happy days to enjoy it with peace." So saying, he placed the crown upon the pillow; and having received his father's blessing, retired. The king was surprised by his last fit, at his devotions before the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster-Abbey, from whence he was carried to Jerusalem Chamber. When he recovered from his swoon, and perceived himself in a strange place, he

he desired to know if the apartment had any particular name, and being informed of its appellation, concluded that his last hour approached, and that he should die, according to the prophecy, in Jerusalem. In this sentiment, he desired to see the prince of Wales, whom he enriched with some wholesome advice touching his government: though he could not help expressing great uneasiness, with respect to his own usurpation; as well as concerning the duke of Clarence, who he seemed to think would dispute the succession with Henry. The prince of Wales promised to keep his exhortations engraven on his heart, and desired he would make himself easy on account of the duke of Clarence; for if that prince should behave according to the dictates of his duty, he might expect to be treated with brotherly affection; but should he endeavour to disturb the lineal succession, he, the prince, would punish him according to his demerit. The king seemed to be well pleased with Henry's resolution; and having recommended him to the protection of heaven, expired on the twentieth day of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. Henry IV. was of the middle stature, well proportioned, and perfect in all the exercises of arms and chivalry: his countenance was severe rather than serene; and his disposition sour, sullen, and reserved: he possessed a great share of courage, fortitude, and penetration; was naturally imperious, though he bridled his temper with caution; superstitious, though without the least tincture of virtue and true religion; and meanly parsimonious, though justly censured for want of œconomy, and ill judged profusion. He was tame from caution, humble from fear, cruel from policy, and rapacious from indigence. He rose to the throne by perfidy and treason; established his authority in the blood of his subjects; and died a penitent for his

Hall.
Hollingshed.
Speed.

A. C. 1413. sins, because he could no longer enjoy the fruits of his transgression *.

* During this reign, William of Wickham bishop of Winchester, Sir Robert Knolles, and Richard Whittington mayor of London, distinguished themselves for their works of charity and public foundation. Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower rendered themselves famous for their poetry; and are looked upon as the first reformers of the English language. Henry had by Mary Bohun, daughter of the earl of Hereford, four sons and two daughters; namely, Henry prince of Wales, who succeeded him on the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, who was by his brother created duke of Gloucester. Blanche his eldest daughter was married to Lewis elector of Palatine, and Philip espoused Eric king of Denmark and Norway.

H E N R Y





HENRY V.

H E N R Y V.

Surnamed of MONMOUTH.

THE death of Henry IV. would have been very little regretted at any juncture by the English, among whom he was far from being popular: but now it was the more agreeable as the prince of Wales was their darling, notwithstanding all the extravagance and profligacy of his youth, through which they had already discovered the dawn of great and good qualities. This prince, who was called Henry of Monmouth from the place of his birth, had been educated at Oxford under the eye of his uncle the bishop of Winchester, who was chancellor of that university. We have already seen how early in life he distinguished his valour and military capacity, in the battle of Shrewsbury and the war with Owen Glendourdw, over whose troops he obtained two successive victories. His father seems to have been jealous of his talents and growing reputation; and for that reason to have put a stop to his warlike achievements, and excluded him from all share in the council or administration. It was in this recess from more important avocations, that his busy genius, rather than be inactive, hurried him into those scenes of debauchery which in some measure tarnished his reputation; though they did not much misbecome a prince of his youth and vivacity. Immediately after his father's death, he was proclaimed by the name of Henry V. to the general satisfaction of the nation; and the parliament meeting on the twenty-fourth day of March, offered to take the oath of allegiance even before his coronation; a proposal which he modestly declined, as an instance of their confidence which he did not deserve. He was

A. C. 1413.
Henry V.
ascends the
throne.

A. C. 1413. crowned on the ninth of April, by the archbishop of Canterbury, and began his reign in such a manner, as captivated the hearts of his new subjects. He published a general amnesty for all crimes, except murder and rape. He discarded all the dissolute companions of his youth, after having exhorted them to amend their lives, and provided for their subsistence. He chose a new council, consisting of the wisest and best men of the realm: he reformed the benches, by dismissing unqualified judges, and filled their places with persons of courage, knowledge, and integrity. The same care extended to inferior magistrates and vacant benefices, to which he preferred none but ecclesiastics of known worth and unblemished morals. He expressed the utmost concern for the misfortunes of Richard, whose corps he ordered to be removed from Langley to Westminster-Abbey, where it was deposited by his queen Anne of Luxemburg with great funeral solemnity, at which Henry assisted in person: he even acted the part of chief mourner on this occasion; and afterwards, by way of atonement for his father's usurpation, he founded three monasteries near Shene in Surry, where prayers were continually preferred for the soul of Richard. He released Edmund earl of Marche, who had been detained in custody during the preceding reign; and treated him with such benevolence, as won the heart of that young nobleman, who served him with the utmost fidelity. Henry likewise expressed a noble pity for the sufferings of the Piercy family; and invited the son and heir of Hotspur to come from Scotland, that he might be restored to the honours and estate of his ancestors.

Walsing,
Evesham,

Conspiracy
formed a-
gainst him
by Wight-
beck,

Though never prince ascended the throne under more favourable auspices, he could not escape the envy and hatred of some individuals. A conspiracy was formed against him by means of one Wight-

Wightlock, who endeavoured to foment a rebellion by papers that were fixed up in all public places, containing affirmations that Richard was still alive. This incendiary being apprehended was committed prisoner to the Tower, from whence he escaped, by the connivance of the constable Edmund duke of York, who was supposed to have projected the conspiracy. That nobleman was dismissed from his office; and one of the warders, convicted of having favoured the prisoner's escape, was executed as a traitor. The lieutenant of the Tower was mulcted in a thousand marks for his negligence; and indictments were found against several persons of distinction. But Henry, who despised the authors of this attempt too much to think them worthy of revenge, imposed slight fines upon some, and suppressed all the other prosecutions.

The session of parliament, which met on the fifteenth day of May, was opened by a speech from the bishop of Winchester the king's uncle, who assured them of Henry's zeal to promote the interest of church and state. The commons having chosen William Stourton for their speaker, presented an address, desiring that the laws might be duly executed, and the grievances of the nation redressed. Then they petitioned that his majesty would provide for the defence of Ireland, Wales, the Marches of Scotland, Calais, and Guienne. They afterwards granted a subsidy of wool and leather for four years, together with the tonnage and poundage for one year, and a fifteenth and a half, expressing their hope of being soon eased of such taxes and talliages by his wise administration. They complained loudly of the clergy's exacting pecuniary commutations; and the king promised to interpose with the bishops, that these abuses might be reformed. Several statutes were enacted for the

Proceed'ngs
in parlia-
ment,

Rot. Parl.

A. C. 1413. better preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the people's privileges; and one in particular calculated for preventing frauds and false returns, in the election for members of parliament.

Prosecution
against Old-
castle lord
Cobham for
heresy.

While the commons were thus employed in making wholesome regulations for the public welfare, the convocation of the clergy was held by Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, who had obtained from the late king an order to appoint commissioners in Oxford to take informations concerning the doctrines of the Wickliffites. The archbishop now communicated the result of their inquiries to the convocation, which, after some debates, unanimously agreed, that there was no other way of extirpating the heresy of the Lollards, but that of making examples of the principal favourers of their doctrine: that John Oldcastle baron of Cobham was the most considerable protector of this pernicious sect; that, in order to strike terror into the rest, it would be necessary to begin with him, against whom they desired that a process might be immediately instituted. As this nobleman was a person of great consideration with Henry, whose esteem he had acquired by his valour and military experience, the archbishop would not begin the prosecution, until he had first obtained the king's permission; and this he did not obtain, till after his majesty had expostulated with Oldcastle in private, and found him unshaken in his principles. Henry himself was a zealot for the established religion, and so exasperated at the inflexibility of Cobham, that he withdrew all the regard he had hitherto professed for that Lollard, and allowed the ecclesiastical courts to proceed against him with the utmost rigour. Oldcastle was so extremely popular among the people of his own persuasion, who were generally enthusiastic fanatics, that they exclaimed against the king as an oppressor, and did

not

not even refrain from denouncing vengeance against him and his government. These clamours and menaces were repeated to the king by the clergy with such exaggerations, that his aversion to their principles increased; and he began to look upon them as enemies both to the church and state in England. Lord Cobham being convicted and condemned by the archbishop, was delivered over to the secular arm, but found means to escape from the Tower; and it was generally believed he intended to put himself at the head of the Lollards, and bid defiance to the government.

Henry published a proclamation against their conventicles, forbidding them under severe penalties, and prohibiting all persons from embracing their opinions, favouring their sect, or preaching without a licence from the bishop of the diocese. They were exasperated at this prohibition; and, in papers fixed upon the church-doors of London, not only complained of it as an act of persecution, but also declared they were both able and willing to repel force by force. Oldcastle himself was now ripe for revolt, and actually began to make preparations for unhinging the constitution. He sent emissaries to all parts of the kingdom to reconcile the sectaries to the scheme he had projected. By means of Sir Roger Aston, John Brown esquire, Sir John Beverley a preacher, one Murle a rich brewer at Dunstable, and the precentor of St. Alban's, a great number of people were inflamed to his wish, and promised to appear in arms at the rendezvous, which was fixed in St. Giles's fields, where they generally assembled to worship. This place was deemed the more proper, on account of its vicinity to the court, and to the city of London, from which they expected to be joined by a vast number of apprentices. Henry, who resided at Eltham in Kent, was duly informed of every circumstance

The Lollards
conspire a-
gainst the
government.

A. C. 1413. cumstance of their design, and took his precautions accordingly. He ordered a good body of soldiers to march in small parties towards Westminster, where they had directions to assemble on the night appointed for the rendezvous of the Lollards. When the day arrived, he commanded the mayor to shut the city gates, and posted guards at all the avenues, to prevent all egress: then he detached parties to scour the country, while he himself marched with his banner displayed to St. Giles's fields, at that time covered with heath and furze, among which he found an inconsiderable number of the Lollards lying concealed in arms. Some of these were immediately put to the sword, and the rest taken prisoners. Among these, Acton, Brown, and Beverley, were apprehended, and suffered death as heretics and traitors, together with six and thirty of their followers. A good number was slain by the scouring parties, before they could join their brethren. Many were executed in other parts of the kingdom; and Cobham, who did not appear on this occasion, was outlawed and proscribed. About four years after this period, he was taken, drawn, hanged, and burned for heresy and treason.

Elmham,
Tit. Liv.
Walsing.

Affairs of
France.

Having thus given a detail of a commotion which has been differently related by different historians, it will be necessary to explain the situation of affairs in France, as an introduction to that war which continued so long, and was so productive of mischief and calamity to both nations. Charles VI. of France had three sons; namely, Lewis, John, and Charles. The first of these, distinguished by the appellation of Dauphin and duke of Guienne, was a worthless prince, plunged in all manner of debauchery, and inspired with the most arbitrary principles of despotic power. He was now about sixteen years of age, when, by the advice
of

of his favourites, he resolved to deprive the duke of Burgundy of the management of affairs, which that prince wholly ingrossed during the distemper of Charles, and to take into his hands the reins of the administration. For this purpose, he bribed the governor of the Bastile to surrender that fortress, which he entrusted to one of his own adherents. But the Parisians, who adored the duke of Burgundy, took to their arms, and assembled to the number of twelve thousand men, in support of their favourite. This body being formed in two divisions, one half, commanded by a surgeon, repaired to the dauphin's palace, which they forced, and dragged twenty persons to prison, as evil counsellors, by whom he had been misled; the other party investing the Bastile, the new governor was so terrified that he surrendered without opposition; and the duke of Burgundy saw his administration re-established. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with their success, distinguished themselves by white hoods or caps, and obliged not only the dauphin, but even the king himself, to wear this badge of distinction. John de Troye the surgeon, at the head of his insurgents, repaired to court, and, regardless of all the intreaties of the dauphin and the king, seized a good number of both sexes, who were instantly committed to prison. Among these was Lewis of Bavaria the queen's own brother, and many other persons of distinction. Charles was fain to yield to the torrent, and pass whatever edicts they were pleased to demand. The dauphin finding himself thus enslaved by the seditious multitude, or rather by his father-in-law the duke of Burgundy, who privately actuated the machine, resolved to make an effort to free himself from such disagreeable restraint, and set on foot a negotiation with the chiefs of the Orleans faction, who had been obliged to sign a peace, by which they

were

A. C. 1413. were secluded from Paris, and his majesty's council. He therefore went to confer with them in person, on pretence of healing up some little breaches which had been made in the peace of Bourges; and, after having taken his measures with the confederates, effected a confirmation of the peace, in a new treaty signed at Pontoise, by which they were left at liberty to pay their respects to his majesty.

Negotiation
between
Henry and
the duke of
Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy, judging from the attempt which the dauphin had already made, that he had nothing to expect from him but animosity and opposition, determined to secure himself by means of an alliance to which he could have recourse in case of necessity; and for this purpose turned his eyes upon the king of England. In the month of June, he sent over an embassy, as count of Flanders, on pretence of renewing the treaty of commerce between the Flemings and the English; but in reality to propose a league of another nature with Henry, which, however, did not immediately take effect. Before the king of England would conclude an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, he was willing to be better acquainted with the real state of the French politics; and for that purpose sent ambassadors to Paris. By their public commission they were empowered to demand, that the court of France would observe the truce with more punctuality than they had hitherto shewn: that the said truce might be confirmed or renewed; and that all differences between the two crowns might be accommodated. But they were instructed in private, to conclude an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, in case they should find his influence as great as it had been represented.

Ast. Pub.

The duke of
Orleans
gains the as-
cendency in
the council
of France.

The affairs of the French court soon assumed another aspect: the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, Alençon, the counts of Eu and Vendôme, hastened to Paris, in consequence of the permission
they

they had obtained, The dauphin having gained A. C. 1413 over a great number of the Parisians to his interest, and finding himself so powerfully supported by the confederates, sent private orders to his partisans to assemble; so that he found himself at the head of thirty thousand men. With these he scoured the streets of Paris, and struck such terror into the opposite faction that they abandoned the Louvre, Hotel de Ville, and Bastile, without opposition; and the duke of Burgundy, finding himself unable to stop their progress, retired into Flanders. Then the faction of the confederates prevailed at court, and the king being in one of his lucid intervals, conceived such affection for his nephew the duke of Orleans, that he suffered himself to be directed intirely by his counsels; so that the dauphin reaped no advantage from the revolution he had effected. The new minister began his administration with several edicts against the duke of Burgundy, and prosecuted the authors of the former sedition, many of whom were executed as traitors.

The court of France being thus new-modelled, appointed commissioners to treat with the English plenipotentiaries, and the conferences were opened at Lelighen in Picardy, where it was immediately agreed that the truce should be inviolably observed till the month of June in the following year: but, in the course of the negotiation, the English ambassadors gave the commissioners of France to understand, that the king their master expected France would restore all she had wrested from England since the peace of Bretigny. The French ministry, alarmed at this declaration, as being altogether unprepared for a war, sent the archbishop of Bourges, the constable D'Albret, and the king's secretary, as ambassadors to London, on pretence of facilitating the negotiations at Lelighen; but in reality to discover the designs of Henry. While these

The duke of
Burgundy
unites with
the dauphin.

A. C. 1473. these resided in England, the French court continued its prosecutions against the Burgundian party, a great number of which fell by the hands of the common executioner. Lewis of Anjou king of Sicily sent back the daughter of the duke of Burgundy, who had been betrothed to his eldest son, and procured a match between one of his own daughters and Charles count of Ponthieu, the third son of the French king, a youth in the thirteenth year of his age. Nothing could be more fatal to France than this marriage. The young prince entered warmly into all the interests and resentment of his father-in-law. He became a sworn enemy to the duke of Burgundy, who hated him with equal rancour; and their mutual animosity intailed a world of mischief on the unhappy kingdom. The dauphin could not without great chagrin behold the duke of Orleans at the helm of government, while he himself, by whose means that nobleman had been promoted, remained, without power or credit, a kind of prisoner in the Louvre, where his conduct was narrowly observed by the minister. Such restraint was altogether insupportable to a prince of his character; and therefore he lent a willing ear to the proposals of the duke of Burgundy, who offered to assist him with all his power, in acquiring that influence and importance to which he was intitled by his birth and expectations. They engaged in a secret alliance, with design to drive the duke of Orleans from the administration: and Burgundy assembled an army, with which he advanced towards the capital. His pretext was, that he came to deliver his son-in-law the dauphin from captivity; and he hoped that Paris would declare in his favour. But the ministry took such measures as prevented all commotion; and the king issued a declaration against the duke of Burgundy, in which he treated him as a

traitor,

traitor, and enemy to his country. Thus disappointed, the duke desisted from his enterprize, and returned to Flanders to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

A. C. 1414.

Mezerai.

The archbishop of Bourges, and the constable D'Albret, soon perceived that Henry of England had resolved to make his advantage of the troubles of France, by means of his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and, in order to divert him from his purpose, proposed a marriage between him and Catherine, daughter of Charles. The proposal seemed to be relished by the English court; though Henry still insisted upon the restitution of all that had been taken from England since the peace of Bretigny: and as the ambassadors had not powers sufficient to treat upon that subject, all the effect of their negotiation was a prolongation of the truce. Immediately after their return to France, Henry sent thither five plenipotentiaries to continue the treaty of marriage and restitution. These envoys were afterwards reinforced by the bishop of Norwich, the earls of Dorset, Warwick, Salisbury, and the lord Gray. Charles appointed commissioners to treat with them, the chief being his own uncle the duke of Berry. The English ambassadors at first demanded the whole kingdom of France for king Henry as the heir of Edward III. But this demand they afterwards waved, with a salvo to the rights of their sovereign, and restricted themselves to the following requisitions: namely, that Normandy, Anjou, le Maine, the sovereignty of Flanders and Brittany, all that France possessed in Guienne, all in general that had been yielded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny, and all the country under the French dominion, between the Somme and Gravelines, should be ceded to the king of England, to be held by him as paramount, without homage or dependance. Before an answer was

Ambassadors sent to Paris to treat of a peace between the two crowns.

A. C. 1414. made to these demands, the duke of Berry pressed the ambassadors to begin with the marriage, as the most effectual expedient for establishing a solid peace between the two nations: but the English deputies would not consider the match as the foundation, but rather as the appendage of the treaty. After warm debates, and much altercation, the ambassadors reduced their demands to the three following articles; upon which they demanded a categorical answer before they would proceed with the negotiation. They demanded all that had been ceded to England by the peace of Bretigny: the half of Provence, with the counties of Beaufort and Nogent; and six hundred thousand crowns that remained unpaid of king John's ransom. With regard to the marriage, they plainly declared that the king their master would never marry the princess Catherine, unless a firm and durable peace could be previously established between the two crowns; and even if that should take effect, they hinted that Henry would expect at least two millions as her portion. In a few days after this declaration the duke of Berry delivered a writing to the ambassadors, containing the following propositions: The king of France is willing to cede to the English monarch the Agenois, the Basadois, part of Auch, Perigord, L'Escarre, Oleron, La Bigorre, Saintonge on the other side of the Charente, all Quercy, except Montauban, with all the country between the Tarn and the Aveiron, Angoumois, and Rouvergne. His majesty cannot dispose of Provence, because it is not in his possession; but as he is willing, for the sake of peace, to part with so many fair provinces, he hopes the king of England will desist from his demand in this particular. With regard to the marriage, although the portion of the daughters of France was regulated at a much smaller sum than that which he had already

ready offered, he would on this occasion augment it to six hundred thousand crowns. These proposals produced a great number of conferences, during which the English again contracted their demands to the treaty of Bretigny, and one million for the portion of Catherine; but the French ministry thinking even these too exorbitant, the negotiation proved ineffectual.

Rymer.

During this transaction, Charles was persuaded to declare war against the duke of Burgundy; and, taking the field in person, reduced Soissons and Compeigne, of which the duke had made himself master. That prince was unable to make any resistance, because his Flemish subjects refused to serve against the king of France; so that the duke of Bourbon found no difficulty in reducing Bapaume: and perhaps the duke of Burgundy might have suffered much more severely, had not Charles relapsed into one of his paroxysms of lunacy, during which the operations were suspended, and Burgundy had time to secure Arras with a numerous garrison. The dauphin now took possession of the regency, because there was no other person in the army who had interest enough to dispute his pretensions; and whether he had by this time quarrelled with his father-in-law, or did not think he had further occasion for his alliance, he marched against Arras, and undertook the siege of that city. The place was well provided, and the garrison made a vigorous defence; so that the dauphin found the enterprise more difficult than he imagined it would have proved. This difficulty, joined to the solicitations of the countess of Hainault, who was sister to the duke of Burgundy, and, perhaps, the suggestions of the dauphin's own interest, disposed him to listen to proposals of an accommodation; and a treaty of peace was concluded on conditions that were by no means favourable to the duke of Burgundy. It was

Charles of France declares war against the duke of Burgundy.

A. C. 1414.

stipulated, that he should enjoy the benefit of a pardon, from which, however, five hundred of his adherents were nominally excluded; that all his friends and favourites should be removed from court; that he himself should not presume to go thither without the particular order of the king and council; and that the colours of France should be displayed upon the walls of Arras.

Mezerai.

Overtures
from the
duke of
Burgundy
to the king
of England.

It was at the beginning of this war, that the duke of Burgundy, finding himself very much embarrassed by the obstinacy of the Flemings, had sent the provost of St. Donas, as an envoy, to renew the treaty he had formerly begun with Henry king of England. This agent was not only instructed to conclude an alliance between the king and the duke, but also to treat about Henry's marriage with the princess Catherine, which he promised to effect to the satisfaction of the English monarch, after he should, by his assistance, resume his influence at the court of Charles. His proposals met with a favourable reception from Henry, who still retained his design of profiting by the divisions of France, which he was resolved to invade with a powerful army; foreseeing that he should meet with little opposition in a kingdom divided into two powerful factions, one of which would declare in his favour. He therefore convoked a parliament at Leicester, in order to procure such supplies as would be necessary for the execution of this important enterprize.

Proceedings
of the par-
liament at
Leicester.

The commons had not yet laid aside their design of humbling the clergy, though they had already miscarried in two attempts. The proposals they had made for seizing the revenues of that body had been represented to the king as the effects of impious heresy, which had crept in among the members, some of whom were professed Lollards; and therefore he had rejected their proposition. But this parliament changed their battery. In order to vindicate

dicate themselves from the aspersions of Lollardism, they enacted a severe statute against that sect, importing, that all the magistrates of the kingdom, and all those who exercised public employments, should engage upon oath to use all their endeavours to exterminate heretics, and assist the bishops in the execution of that pious design. This act was immediately followed by a violent persecution against the Lollards; some of whom were committed to the flames; some quitted the kingdom, and others abjured their heresy. As the rolls of parliament were often vitiated, by inserting the petitions of the commons in terms that conveyed a meaning quite different from that which they had intended to express; and as the king and lords for some time past affected to treat the commons as petitioners only, whose assent was not necessary to any act of the legislature, they now petitioned that no act or statute should pass without their assent; that nothing should be entered on the rolls as their petitions, but in the very terms which they had used; and that the house of commons should, according to their privilege, be declared and established as a constituent part of the legislature. The king having readily given his assent to this petition, the commons concurred with the lords in an unanimous resolution to support his majesty in his war with France; towards the maintenance of which, they intreated him to seize the revenues of the clergy. This unexpected stroke was the more alarming to that venerable body, as the king seemed to lend an ear to the proposal of the commons. After divers consultations upon this important subject, they resolved to give up part of their wealth, in order to secure the remainder; and offered, as a free gift, the whole wealth and revenues of one hundred and ten monasteries of aliens: the king, rather than quarrel with the clergy, agreed to the proposal; and the monasteries were appropriated

A. C. 1414
Act. Pub.

pritated to his use by act of parliament. That his attention might be effectually weaned from a subject, which they did not chuse he should consider, archbishop Chicheley, who had lately succeeded to the see of Canterbury upon the death of Arundel, composed an elaborate speech, which he pronounced before the king in full parliament, exhorting his majesty to engage in a war with France, for the recovery of the crown of that kingdom, which he affirmed to be his lawful inheritance. He pretended to refute the Salique Law, as repugnant to the law of nature and the divine institution. He expatiated upon the present opportunity of asserting his right, while France was distracted by intestine divisions, and England enjoyed the most profound tranquillity; and assured his majesty, that if he would undertake the war in earnest, the clergy would express their loyalty and zeal for his success, not only in their prayers to heaven, but also in giving larger supplies than ever were granted to any of his predecessors. This harrangue, which, in all probability, was directed in private by the king himself, that he might sound the inclinations of his people, met with universal applause. Henry declared his resolution to undertake the war: the clergy indulged him with a very extraordinary supply; and the laity, who seemed to vie with them in affection to the cause, granted a subsidy of two whole tenths and as many fifteenths, which amounted to a prodigious sum of money.

The French
and English
courts amuse
each other
with nego-
tiations.

The negotiation still continued between the courts of France and England, and ambassadors were continually going and coming between Paris and London. The French ministry hoped to divert Henry from the prosecution of his design, by means of the marriage with the princess Catherine; and the king pretended to be amused with their proposals; so that the truce was prolonged from time to time, as
if

if both sides had thought a pacification would ensue : but the real design of both was to gain time, tho' upon very different motives. The French court could not believe that the son of an usurper, who had been embroiled in such dangerous quarrels and dissensions with his own subjects, should be all at once so firmly established on the throne, but that some new disturbance would employ him in his own dominions ; and that in the mean time all the differences among the princes of France might be compromised in such a manner, that they would heartily unite in defence of the nation. Henry, on the other hand, protracted the negotiation, that he might be prepared to strike the meditated blow, immediately after the conferences should break up, and before France should be in a condition to oppose his progress. The French ministry itself was divided on the subject of these negotiations : the duke of Berry was sincerely disposed to an accommodation with England upon equitable terms ; but the dauphin was extremely averse to any terms that might dismember the dominions of France. He had conceived a very mean opinion of Henry's character from the report of his indiscretion and excess during the life of his father ; and, when he demanded the crown of France by his ambassadors, sent him a cask of tennis balls in derision, as a present that implied his being better calculated for that diversion, than for the maintenance of a war upon which the fate of kingdoms would depend. Henry was piqued at this sarcastic compliment ; in answer to which, he declared, that when his balls should be matched with racquets, he would play a game that would shake the walls of the Louvre. The dauphin soon changed his opinion of Henry's talents, when he perceived with what art and management he carried on his negotiations ; and with what vigour, capacity, and perseverance, he pursued the important

A. C. 1414. design which he had projected. Alarmed at the resolutions of the parliament at Leicester, and the preparations which Henry had begun to make for the prosecution of the war, he, with the advice of the council, sent over the secretary Col, with new offers, which he hoped would be accepted as a full and final satisfaction; but he was disappointed in his expectation. Henry, finding himself supported by parliament, had rather risen than sunk in his demands: yet he still continued to amuse the French ministry, in expressing a desire to see the dispute terminated by negotiation; and, to shew that he had the treaty of marriage at heart, prolonged the time he had fixed for the discussion of that affair, and even empowered his ambassadors at Paris to protract it occasionally, as they should judge expedient.

The arch-
bishop of
Bourges sent
at the head
of an em-
bassy to king
Henry.

This transaction, however, neither interrupted his measures for invading France, nor hindered him from treating with the duke of Burgundy, who was not so satisfied with the peace of Arras, but that he wished to secure the alliance of Henry. Philip Morgan, an intelligent agent, whom the king of England employed in his most important negotiations, was sent to Flanders, on pretence of renewing the truce with the Flemings; but he had secret instructions to propose a league of a different nature: and the duke sent an envoy to England, to manage his interest with Henry; though he hesitated with respect to the proffered alliance, as a step which he did not chuse to take, unless he should be compelled by necessity to throw himself into the arms of the English monarch. In the beginning of the year, Henry consented to a prolongation of the truce with France till the first day of May; and, in the interim, the French ministry, being more and more startled at the expedition with which Henry prepared his armament, sent over twelve ambassadors, at the head of whom was the arch-
bishop

Rymer.

A. C. 1415.

bishop of Bourges, who, in all probability, was empowered to make some new offer, which was rejected as the former; and all he could obtain was another short prolongation of the truce. While these ambassadors resided at London, Henry assembled a great council of the lords temporal and spiritual, and declared to them, by the mouth of his uncle the bishop of Winchester, that he was resolved to invade France in person, in order to recover the inheritance of his ancestors. This notification of a design which all the kingdom already knew, was intended for extracting from the French ambassadors the last terms they had to propose, which the king imagined they were ordered to suppress, until matters should be brought almost to extremity. He did not doubt but that France would consent to a peace, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Bretigny, rather than hazard a war during the distractions of the kingdom; and on these terms, he, in all probability, would have agreed to a solid pacification. The archbishop perceived his drift; and, having no longer the least room to doubt of his hostile intention, desired he might be indulged with time to return to France for fresh instruction: Henry granted his request; and the truce was again prolonged till the fifteenth day of July.

Rymer.

By this time he had levied his army, and equipped a large fleet for transporting it to the continent. A large train of artillery was provided; Southampton was appointed the place of rendezvous. He had made a progress through the southern parts of the kingdom, and arrayed the counties and the clergy. At Reading he published a proclamation, directed to all his subjects, importing that the money granted by parliament was not sufficient to discharge the second payment of his troops; and desiring they would lend him a sum of money upon such security

Henry rejects the offers of France, and prepares for his embarkation.

A. C. 1475. as he should propose. Such was the eagerness of the nation, that he found himself amply supplied and accommodated with all the money and necessaries that he wanted. The young earl of Northumberland being restored to his honours and estate, maintained forty men at arms, with one hundred and twenty archers; the same force was levied by the earl of Westmoreland. The earl of Suffolk defrayed the expence of half a ship, twenty men at arms, and forty archers. His example was followed by the lords Lovel, Berkeley, Darcy, Seymour, Roos, and Willoughby. Six men at arms and twenty archers were subsisted by the lord Morley: the lords Scales and Randolfe served without pay; and all the other nobility contributed in some measure to the success of this expedition. Provision was made for the defence of the Scottish and Welsh Marches, as well as for those of Calais; and the king's brother the duke of Bedford constituted lieutenant of the kingdom in Henry's absence, to be directed by a council, at the head of which was the archbishop of Canterbury. The truce was almost expired, when the archbishop of Bourges returned; and Henry granted him a public audience at Winchester, sitting in his robes of state, and surrounded by the princes of the blood, the prelates, and the nobility. The ambassador produced very respectful letters from the king of France, offering the princess Catherine, with a portion of eight hundred thousand crowns, a larger sum than ever had been given on such an occasion before: but, this offer being coldly received, the ambassador agreed to an addition of fifty thousand crowns, and the principality of Limoges. Henry, in consideration of these concessions, replied, that if the French court would fix a day for the departure of the princess, and the payment of the money, and deliver up the proffered places and provinces,

he

he would prolong the truce for fifty days; during which a congress might be held for settling the articles of the peace: and, in the mean time, he would give security for restoring the places to the crown of France, provided the treaty should not take effect. The ambassador declaring that his power did not extend so far, the bishop of Winchester, by the king's command, observed, at his next audience, that the French court had been insincere in all the negotiations; that their offers were not adequate to what the king of England had a right to demand; that they had infringed the treaty of Bretigny, contrary to all justice and good faith; and that Henry now appealed to the sword and decision of heaven. A declaration to the same purpose, in writing, under the great seal, was delivered to the archbishop, who, being a prelate of an hot fiery disposition, was so provoked at the inflexibility of the English monarch, that he lost all patience. Forgetting his own character, he raved, blustered, and threatened in a very indecent manner; and even reproached Henry as a tyrant and usurper. This unseemly transport was overlooked with the most contemptuous indifference: he was dismissed in peace; and Henry proceeded in his preparations with redoubled vigour.

Act. Pub.

When the truce expired, hostilities were commenced in Picardy, between the French forces and the garrison of Calais, commanded by the earl of Warwick. The army and navy had been assembled at Southampton; and the king himself repaired to that place in order to embark, when he received intimation of a conspiracy formed against his person by Richard earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York, Henry lord Scrope of Masham, treasurer of England, and Sir Thomas Gray of Heton in Northumberland. The earl of Cambridge had married Anne Mortimer daughter to

Conspiracy
formed
against
Henry by
the earl of
Cambridge,
the lord
Scrope, and
Sir Thomas
Gray.

Roger

A. C. 1415. Roger earl of Marche, by Philippa daughter and heir of Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. so that in right of this lady he was in blood nearer the crown than Henry. It was his ambition in all probability that projected this conspiracy, in hope that should the scheme prosper, he or his children might one day succeed to the throne, at the death of Mortimer earl of Marche, who had no issue. The design seems to have been half formed, or rather a vague and distant prospect than a full concerted plan. There appears to have been an absurd inconsistency in their intention; for they purposed to raise an army in Scotland, under the stale pretence of Richard's being alive; and at the same time to crown Mortimer in Wales, as the legal heir of that monarch. They knew Mortimer was a young nobleman of weak intellects, who had often told Cambridge that his confessor daily importuned him to claim the crown as his inheritance; and they did not suppose they should find any difficulty in prevailing upon him to countenance their design. In these sentiments they exacted from him an oath of secrecy, and then communicated the plan they had projected in his favour. His fear immediately overcame his ambition: he desired they would give him time to consider their proposal, and imparted their whole conversation to Henry. The conspirators were immediately arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Southampton; to the constable of which they confessed their guilt, and submitted to his majesty's mercy. Sir Henry Gray was tried and convicted on this evidence by a common jury. A commission was issued for judging the two noblemen by their peers. They pleaded guilty; and the earl of Cambridge wrote a penitent and pathetic letter to the king, imploring his forgiveness and clemency. But mercy was not Henry's predominant virtue: the earl and knight were

were beheaded; and lord Scrope was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, according to the literal tenour of his sentence, because his guilt was aggravated with ingratitude to the king, who had honoured him with particular marks of favour and affection. But there is no reason to suppose that the conspirators had been corrupted by the enemy.

A. C. 1415.

Rot. Parl.
Tit. Liv.
Rymer.

This affair delayed the king's departure till the fifteenth day of August, when he sailed from the port of Southampton with six thousand lances, four and twenty thousand archers, and about twenty thousand common infantry, on board of a fleet consisting of fifteen hundred vessels. After an easy passage he landed at the mouth of the Seine in Normandy, about three leagues from Harfleur, the siege of which he undertook without any interruption from the constable d'Albret, who lay encamped at Rouen with a strong army, in order to watch the motions of the English. Harfleur was strongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garrison, which made a very gallant defence, under the command of the lord Estouteville, assisted by some of the best officers in France. But Henry carried on his attacks with such impetuosity, and plied his artillery with such success, that a considerable breach was made; and the besieged, finding it impracticable to maintain the place, capitulated on condition of surrendering, if not relieved by the Sunday after Michaelmas. A body of French troops, under the marechal l'Isle d'Adam, attempted to succour the town, but were defeated and repulsed; so that the term prescribed in the capitulation being expired, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and Henry took possession of Harfleur, which he peopled with an English colony. While his army was employed in repairing the fortifications of the place, he sent a challenge to the

Henry lands
in Nor-
mandy and
reduces
Harfleur.

dau-

A. C. 1415. dauphin, proposing to decide the dispute between the two crowns in single combat; but no regard was paid to his defiance. The reduction of Harfleur was a conquest of great importance, though it scarce atoned for the mortality that prevailed in the English army, which was so weakened and diminished by the dysentery, that before Henry quitted Harfleur, not above one fourth part of those whom he had brought from England, remained fit for service: nor was it confined to the common soldiers, who, from their manner of living, are most subject to this distemper: it had already proved fatal to the bishop of Norwich and the earl of Suffolk; and the duke of Clarence, with the earl of Arundel, and many other officers of distinction, were obliged to return to England, in hope of recovering in their native climate. Henry was much mortified at this distress of his people, which was the more unlucky as he expected to be attacked by the French, who were now industriously employed in assembling troops from all quarters. These considerations, with the approach of winter, would in all probability have determined the king of England to return to his own dominions, had not part of his transports been dismissed at his first landing in France, and the remainder lately dispersed by a tempest.

Ag. Pub.
Elmham.

Begins his
march for
Calais.

So situated, and finding it would be impracticable to winter at Harfleur for want of provision and forage, he, with the advice of his council, resolved to begin his march by land for Calais, and pass the Somme at the place where it was forded by his great grandfather Edward III. This enterprize was rendered extremely difficult, by a long succession of rainy weather which had spoiled the roads; but what seemed to make it quite impracticable, was the precaution of the enemy. Suspecting that he entertained some such design, they had broken
down

down all the bridges, destroyed the causeways, and wasted the country, so that he could expect to find no supply in his route, either of forage or provision; and the constable d'Albret was at hand with a choice body of troops to attend his motions, and harraß him in his march by cutting off his detached parties. Henry was not ignorant of these circumstances, and knew that the whole kingdom of France was in arms to oppose his progress. He might have staid at Harfleur, and been supplied by sea with provision and other necessaries: he might have assembled a fleet that would have transported his army to England, without the least risque from the enemy: but he was inflamed with ambition to rival the exploits of his ancestors, who had triumphed at Crescy and Poitiers, and undertook an expedition which even success could not justify, and which seems to have been the result of rashness, obstinacy, and presumption. Having constituted his uncle the earl of Dorset governor of Harfleur, and Sir John Fastolfe, his lieutenant, at the head of a garrison amounting to three thousand men, he began his march towards the Somme with an army of twenty thousand soldiers, the greater part of which was weakened by sickness. When he reached the ford of Blanquetaque, he found the passage rendered impracticable, by sharp stakes driven into the bed of the river, and a strong body of forces posted on the other side. He was not a little chagrined at this disappointment, which would have induced any other general to retreat to Harfleur: but Henry was one of those heroes who are animated by difficulties; he resolved to march farther up the river, until he should find an opportunity of crossing; and this scheme he executed in spite of a thousand dangers and difficulties. He saw all the bridges broken down, all the passes defended, and was so harraßed by the enemy,

Monstrelet.

A. C. 1415. my, that he could not send off a detachment from the line of march, without running the risque of its being cut in pieces. His troops were afflicted with a dearth of provision and total want of necessaries, which, added to their distemper and the fatigues they underwent, would have driven them to despair, had not they been animated by the presence and example of their beloved monarch, who shared in all their hardships, and encouraged them by his alacrity. Perhaps even these cordials would have failed at last, if his affairs had not taken a favourable turn from an incident which at first had a very unfavourable aspect. The constable of France being reinforced by forty thousand men at arms, and joined by all the princes and noblemen of the kingdom, except the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, a council of war was held, and they unanimously resolved to allow Henry to cross the Somme, and give him battle between that river and Calais. In pursuance of this resolution, they withdrew their detachments from the passes, and marched into the county of St. Pol, with a view to attack the king of England after he should have crossed the river, so that his retreat should be intirely cut off.

Passes the
Somme, and
finds himself
greatly dis-
tressed.

Henry, finding the passes clear, forded the river between St. Quintin and Peronne, and advancing to Blagny, perceived the whole French army on the march towards Rousseauville and Agincourt, which lay in the route to Calais. He now saw his difficulties increase, and began to repent of the rashness of his conduct. He found himself in the midst of an enemy's country, during the severest season of the year, at the head of an handful of men, exhausted by distemper and fatigue, destitute of provision and proper accommodation, while a prodigious army, amounting to one hundred thousand fighting men, blocked up the passage to the
only

only place where he could expect to find shelter and assistance. In this emergency he sent a message to the French constable, offering to restore Harfleur, and repair all the damage he had done to the French; nay even to give security that he would never again attempt to invade France, if they would allow him to pass unmolested to Calais. Such was the offer made by the Black Prince, when he found himself surrounded at Poitiers; and the answer which Edward received was the same which they now returned to Henry: they rejected his offer, and proposed that he and his army should submit at discretion. When he treated this proposal with disdain, they sent three heralds to defy him to battle, leaving the time and place to his choice: he replied, that weakened and fatigued as he was, he would not seek an engagement; but as he intended to continue his route to Calais, they might attack him when and where they should think proper to chuse the scene of action. Then they took post between Rousseauville and Agincourt, and gave him notice they would engage him on the twenty-fifth day of October. As he could not possibly avoid an action, he accepted the challenge, and presented the herald who brought it with a gratification of a rich robe and two hundred crowns.

During this interval of three days, he took all the precautions which the experience of the most able commander could have dictated. He procured for his soldiers such refreshments as the nature of their situation would afford: he ordered their weapons and armour to be refitted and repaired: he invented a kind of sharp stakes for the defence of the archers: he continued night and day upon horseback, riding through the lines to animate the soldiers, and superintend the œconomy of the camp: he encouraged the army with hope of success, by reminding them of the great victories obtained

He prepares
for action.

A. C. 1415. tained in France by their forefathers; assuring them that the enemy, though numerous, were raw, undisciplined, and imprudent; and he gave them plainly to understand, they had no resource from death or captivity, but in the extraordinary efforts of their own valour. His affability, activity, and confidence, inspired the soldiers with such resolution and ardour, that far from dreading the number of the foe, they wished eagerly for the battle; and bore their distresses with heroic patience, in hope of being relieved by a speedy victory. Indeed they seemed to have lost all sense of distinction in numbers; for, on the day that preceded the battle, David Gam, a Welsh captain, whom the king had sent to observe the posture of the enemy, being interrogated by his majesty concerning the number of the French army, replied, with great composure, that there was number enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away. While Henry thus acted the part of an able and diligent commander, the French officers spent their time in riot and rejoicing. When they considered the handful of English, who did not exceed fourteen thousand enfeebled wretches, half dead with famine and disease, they looked upon the victory as having already declared in their favour. They are even said to have played at dice for the English prisoners before they were taken, and to have sent orders to the neighbouring villages to prepare lodging for those strangers: on the morning of the engagement, their insolence and presumption rose to such a pitch, that they detached another herald to Henry, to know what he proposed to give for his ransom. This insult he received with the most contemptuous moderation, desiring the messenger to tell those that sent him, a little time would decide to whom the ransom would belong.

Tit. Liv.
Elmham.

On the day appointed for the decision of this great contest, both armies were drawn up at break of day in order of battle; and the constable D'Albret, who commanded the French, committed an error which was altogether inexcusable; in chusing a narrow piece of ground, flanked by a rivulet and a thick wood, where he could not extend his front so as to enclose the English; where his cavalry could not act, and his superiority of number, instead of being an advantage, was an incumbrance and misfortune. He divided his army into three bodies, and he himself commanded the van, accompanied by the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, the famous marechal de Boucicaut, the great master of the crossbows, the lord Dampierre admiral of France, the dauphin D'Auvergne, and several other officers of distinction. The second line was commanded by the duke of Alençon, assisted by the duke of Bar, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Roussi, and Grand Pré. At the head of the third body were the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Faquen-berg, and the sieur de Lauroy. While the French were employed in arranging these lines, which stood so thick that the soldiers had not room to use their weapons, Henry concealed four hundred lances in a wood upon the right, and about two hundred and fifty choice archers on the left, in a low meadow covered with bushes. In order to extend his front equal to that of the enemy, he was obliged to form his little army into one line: the right wing commanded by the duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Stanhope, was advanced a little way before the centre, which the king took under his own conduct, attended by his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl Mareschal, and the young earl of Suffolk, whose father had died at Harfleur. The left, which may be denominated

A. D. 1415. the rear, as it had not advanced so far as the other two divisions, was left under the direction of the duke of Exeter; and nothing could be more prudent than this disposition, which was made by the advice of Sir Thomas Erpyngham, a renowned soldier, who acted as Henry's marshal, and was the person who afterwards gave the signal for the attack. The king himself appeared in the front of the line, mounted on a stately white courser, in splendid armour, with a golden crown fixed by way of crest to his helmet: four royal banners were displayed before him: he was followed by a great number of led horses in rich caparisons, and surrounded by the chief officers of his court and army. Whether the French generals were startled at the admirable disposition, and the firm countenance of the English, or had received orders to avoid a battle, certain it is, they stood in array, at the distance of two hundred and fifty paces, without proceeding to the attack; and the king of England began to imagine their intention was to starve him into a surrender. This was the wisest course they could have taken; and must have been attended with success, had Henry continued inactive; for his provisions were already quite exhausted, and the weather so rainy that it would have been impracticable to keep the field much longer. Perceiving their drift, and conscious of his own situation, he ordered the archers to strike their stakes, which they planted by way of pallisadoes in the front and flank; so that they could advance before and retire behind them occasionally. He rode along the line, exhorting and encouraging the soldiers to behave like Englishmen. Then, alighting from his horse, he took his station in the main body, and commanded Sir Thomas Erpyngham to throw up his truncheon as the signal for the attack. The whole line raising a loud shout, advanced against the enemy;

my; but Henry fearing they would be out of breath before they could come to close fight, ordered them to halt about mid-way, and there the archers planted their piquets, to secure them from the French cavalry. The battle was begun by a flight of arrows, which did great execution, because the enemy stood so thick that every shaft took place, and even penetrated the armour of the French men at arms. The English bowmen had advanced beyond their stakes to make this general discharge; but, seeing the enemy's cavalry in motion to attack them, they retired within their pallisadoes with admirable order and dexterity, and plied the assailants so warmly, that they began to fall into confusion. The troops that lay in ambush on the right and left, charging them suddenly in flank, completed the disorder; at the same time the archers flinging their bows, rushed out upon them with their battle-axes and daggers, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Tho' this front line of the French consisted of the best troops, animated by the presence and example of so many noblemen, and was commanded by the constable in person, it could not sustain the impetuosity of the attack, and being once disordered, all opposition was at an end: far from being able to rally, they had not room to turn, and were so encumbered by one another, that they themselves contributed to the victory of the English, who slaughtered them in heaps, until their arms were tired with the work of death. Though the constable, with a great number of principal officers, was slain, and the first line of the French entirely routed, the battle continued still undecided; and the second line, commanded by the duke of Alençon, stood firm and eager to engage. The English, who were fatigued with action, retiring behind the main body, to take breath and form themselves anew, Henry in person led up his division to the charge; and being ani-

A. C. 1415. mated by the success of his first effort, added to his natural courage and vivacity, performed exploits of valour which equally astonished his own soldiers and those of the enemy.

Henry is
twice in im-
minent dan-
ger of his
life.

While he thus exerted himself, in a manner that did much more honour to his personal prowess than to his conduct, eighteen French knights, who had engaged in an association to take him dead or alive, made their way sword in hand to the place where he fought, and one of them stunned him with the blow of his battle-ax, which, however, did not penetrate his helmet. In all probability he must have fallen a sacrifice to the determined resolution of those associates, had not David Gam the Welsh captain, and two other officers of the same nation, rushed between him and the assailants, and lost their lives in his defence. When he recollected his spirits, he found those three gallant soldiers dying of the wounds they had received, and knighted them as they lay upon the field of battle. The eighteen French knights were killed to a man; and Henry, still more stimulated by the danger he had escaped, rushed into the midst of the enemy with redoubled impetuosity, until he and his brother Gloucester, who fought by his side, found themselves quite separated from the troops they commanded. In this hazardous situation, Gloucester was felled to the ground by the stroke of a mace; and Henry covering him with his shield, sustained the shock of a whole host of assailants, until the duke of York came to his relief. At that very instant he received a blow upon the head, that made him stagger, and fall upon his knees; but he sprang up in a moment, and laid the aggressor at his feet. His troops, inspired by his example to a degree of enthusiasm, rushed forward as one man with irresistible fury, which bore down all before them, and disordered the enemy in such a manner, that all the endea-

yours of their officers could not induce them to form, or persuade them to oppose the career of the English. The duke of Alençon, seeing his division in danger of being totally defeated, resolved to make one attack that should either restore the battle, or save him the mortification of surviving the disgrace of his country. He put himself at the head of some chosen volunteers, and cutting his way to the spot where Henry fought, exclaimed that he was the duke of Alençon; then rushing upon the English monarch, cleft his crown with the first stroke of his sword: he had not an opportunity of repeating his blow; for Henry returned the salutation in such a manner as brought him to the ground; and with his own hand slew two of his followers. He endeavoured to save the life of Alençon; but the guards were so exasperated at his attempt, that they dispatched him immediately, before the king could interpose effectually in his behalf. After the death of this nobleman, the French made no opposition; but either endeavoured to save themselves by flight, or voluntarily offered their throats to the slaughter.

The third line was still entire, and much more numerous than the whole English army. They were fresh and vigorous, while the victors fainted with the fatigue of the action, added to the weakness occasioned by their distemper, which was so violent that they are said to have fought without breeches, to save the trouble of untrussing: but the third division of the French were so intimidated by the disaster of the other two lines, and the dreadful scene of carnage acting before their eyes, that they refused to obey the command of their generals; and, instead of advancing to the charge, retired from the field of battle: though they still continued in a body, until Henry sent an herald to declare that should they remain in that posture until

The French
are totally
defeated.

A. C. 1415. he could come up with them, they should be all massacred without mercy. Intimidated by this message, they dispersed, and left him intirely master of the field. He had not time to congratulate himself upon the victory, when he was informed that the enemy were in his rear, and already in possession of his camp. Concluding they intended to renew the battle, he forthwith commanded all the prisoners to be put to the sword, except those of the most distinguished quality : and this inhuman order was punctually executed. He then marched towards the camp, and found it already plundered by a body of fugitives under the command of Robert de Bournonville, who retired at his approach. Nothing now remaining to oppose his arms, he returned thanks to heaven in public for this extraordinary success ; and proclaimed that it should be ascribed to no other but God alone. Then he commanded a French herald to declare to whom he thought the victory belonged ; and he adjudging it to the English, the king asked the name of a castle to which he pointed with his finger. Being informed that it was known by the name of Agincourt, “ Hence-
“ forward then,” said he, “ this action shall be
“ named the battle of Agincourt.” In this memorable battle, which began about ten in the morning and lasted till three in the afternoon, the French lost the constable d’Albret, the duke of Alençon, who was a prince of the blood, the duke of Brabant and count de Nevers, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the duke de Bar, the counts de Vaudemont, Marle, Roussi, Faquenbergh, several officers of great distinction, and about ten thousand soldiers left dead upon the field. Among the prisoners, who were very numerous before the massacre, the English found the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, Richemont, Estouteville, the marechal-de Boucicaut, and sixteen hundred

dred persons of distinction: but the whole loss of the English did not exceed four hundred men, including the duke of York, the young earl of Suffolk, four knights, and one esquire.

A. G. 1415.
Monstrelet.
Mezerai.
Elmharn.
Goodwin.

Henry, after having given orders touching the dead and wounded, marched back to Marcoucelly, where he had encamped the preceding night, that his troops might be more conveniently refreshed, and next day proceeded on his route to Calais: when he passed by the field of battle, he took that opportunity to commend his army for their gallant behaviour; but at the same time exhorted them to bear their good fortune with moderation, and attribute their success to the God of battles, who had wrought a miracle in their favour. He treated the French prisoners with all the politeness of his great uncle the Black Prince, declaring that the victory was not owing to his superior valour, but to the immediate interposition of Providence, which had made use of them as an instrument to punish the sins of the French nation; and he assured them, that he was now more disposed to peace than he had been immediately before the battle. Some days after his arrival at Calais, he received a message from the duke of Burgundy, who challenged him to single combat, that he might have an opportunity to revenge the death of his two brothers, who had been barbarously massacred by Henry's order on the field of Agincourt. The king, desirous of preventing a rupture with a prince from whose alliance he expected great advantages, restored the duke's gauntlet to the herald, and dismissed him with a civil answer, importing that he had no hand in the death of his brothers, which was entirely owing to his own subject Robert de Bournonville, whom he desired him to punish for his treachery. The duke would have followed his advice, had not that plunderer been protected by his son the count de

Henry
marches to
Calais, from
whence he
returns to
England.

Ag. Pub. !

47 C. 1415. Charalois, to whom Bournonville presented a curious sword adorned with diamonds, which he found among the baggage belonging to the king of England. About the middle of November, Henry embarked for England with his prisoners; and after a dangerous passage landed at Dover. From thence he proceeded to London, where he was received in triumph amidst the acclamations of his people. The first step he took was to appoint a day of religious thanksgiving for the success of the campaign; then he bestowed the most honourable obsequies on the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk; and the former of these noblemen was succeeded in his title and estate by Richard, son of the earl of Cambridge, who had been beheaded at Southampton.

Death of
the dauphin.
Diffensions
among the
princes of
France.

The battle of Agincourt produced no other advantage to Henry, but that of increasing the domestic troubles of France; for he had not gained a single foot of land by his victory; and all the spoil and the ransom was not sufficient to defray the expence of the campaign: but he found his account in the divisions which that event renewed among the French princes. The duke of Burgundy seized this opportunity to re-establish himself in the administration, from which he had been excluded by the treaty of Arras. He said, that at a time when the kingdom was threatened with destruction, he, as a prince of the blood, and first peer of France, had a title to assist the king with his advice; and he resolved to support his right by force of arms. For this purpose he approached Paris at the head of an army: but the dauphin, though his own son-in-law, opposed his pretensions with all his influence. That prince bestowed the office of constable on the count of Armagnac, the duke's inveterate enemy, who prosecuted all the Burgundians with the utmost rancour; and this in-
flamed

flamed the two factions to such a degree, that they A.C. 1415 never could unite against the common enemy of the kingdom. The dauphin, who was at the head of the administration, entered blindly into all the resentments of the constable, and utterly neglected all measures that could contribute to the re-establishment of the affairs of the realm. In a few months he was taken off by poison, and then the constable remained sole master of the king's person and government, till the return of John duke of Touraine, upon whom the title of dauphin devolved, and who at that time resided with his father-in-law the count of Hainault. Resolving to observe a strict neutrality, he sent orders to both factions to lay down their arms. The duke of Burgundy, who had miscarried in his attempt upon Lagny, obeyed his command, on pretence of pure deference, and retired to his own dominions: but the constable was not so pliable. Being master of the king's person, he did not think the dauphin had a right to command him, until he should be in possession of the regency, which the constable determined to keep out of his reach, unless he would declare against the Burgundians. This opposition of the constable hindered the dauphin from returning to the kingdom. France could not possibly take proper measures for her own defence, while the duke of Burgundy negotiated privately with the king of England; while the duke of Hainault courted the favour of that monarch, that his son-in-law the dauphin might be fixed in the regency; and while Lewis of Anjou king of Sicily, who headed the faction of Orleans, had projected a plan for depriving the dauphin of his birth-right, that the crown might devolve upon Charles count of Ponthieu, who had married his daughter. All these princes thought they could not take a more effectual method to accomplish their several
I
aims,

A. C. 1415. aims, than that of having recourse to the alliance of Henry; so that all the princes of France, from different views, solicited the friendship of that king, against whom they ought to have united as the common enemy of their country.

Mezeral.

A. C. 1416.

The emperor Sigismund arrives in England.

Henry, notwithstanding the success of his arms, seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting the war, and turned his attention wholly to the business of negotiation. He was extremely desirous of concluding an alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and for this purpose, agents were continually passing and repassing, between Flanders and England, on pretence of settling a treaty of commerce between the subjects of the two powers, who had for many ages maintained an intercourse of this nature. The duke sought to conceal the true motives of this negotiation, lest it should give umbrage to the Parisians who favoured his interest; and Henry did not chuse that it should be known, lest the court of France, being alarmed at the prospect of such a conjunction, should find means to frustrate his design, by a coalition with the duke of Burgundy. In the beginning of the year, the emperor Sigismund had arrived at Paris, on purpose, as he affirmed, to mediate a peace between the crowns of France and England; and he was permitted to exercise acts of sovereignty, by presiding in the parliament of Paris, and creating a knight, as if he had a right of paramount over all the kings in Europe. He had projected a truce for four years between the two crowns, which was rejected by the constable: and finding his endeavours ineffectual at Paris, he repaired to England, with a view, if he could not mediate a peace between Charles and Henry, to form an alliance between himself and the English monarch; and this indeed seems to have been the chief intent of his journey from his own dominions. He was brought over with

with his train from Calais in English bottoms; but when he approached the shore in a shaloupe, the duke of Gloucester, and some other noblemen, rushed into the sea with their swords drawn, and stopped the vessel, to the no small astonishment and terror of the emperor, who desiring to know the meaning of such an extraordinary reception, the duke told him, that if he came with pretensions to any right of sovereignty in England, they had orders from the king to prevent his landing; but if his sole aim in coming was to act the part of a friend and peace-maker, he should be received with all the honours due to his imperial dignity. Sigismund assuring him that he was come in character of a mediator, they received him on shore with marks of the most profound respect; and he was magnificently entertained upon the road from Dover to London. Henry in person met him on Black-Heath, from whence he attended him to London, and then to Windsor, where he was installed a knight of the garter.

A. C. 1416.

Grafton,
Speed.

After all these ceremonies and rejoicings, Sigismund, in conjunction with William of Bavaria, count of Holland and Zealand, who had lately arrived in England for the same purpose, proceeded to the work of mediation, which they found more difficult than they had imagined it would prove; for Henry thinking he had a right to rise in his demands since the victory of Agincourt, insisted upon having the town and territory of Harfleur added to the cession of all the other places which had been given up to Edward by the treaty of Bretigny. This obstruction being insurmountable, they proposed a truce for three years, during which Harfleur should remain as a deposit in their hands. The constable seemed to listen to this proposition, which was not disagreeable to Henry; but, when every article was agreed, the French princes who

The French
besiege
Harfleur.

were

A. C. 1416. were prisoners in England refused to guarantee the treaty, which therefore did not take effect. The count of Armagnac had resolved to besiege Harfleur, and amused Henry with this negotiation, until he was ready to execute his design. He had engaged with the Genoese for some large carracks, with a number of cross-bows, to join the French navy: he found some pretext for conveying king Charles to Rouen, that he himself might be at hand to superintend the operations: and took his measures with such secrecy that Henry never dreamed of his intention. The earl of Dorset, who commanded in Harfleur, made incursions to the very gates of Rouen, from whence he carried off a great booty, even while the count resided in that city; and the constable, with a body of choice troops, endeavoured to cut off his retreat. At first he obtained some advantages; but the English, perceiving his design was to prevent their return to Harfleur, fought so desperately, that tho' he greatly outnumbered them, they were obliged to retreat with great precipitation. The Genoese carracks being arrived, and all the previous measures taken, the constable ordered his troops to assemble privately from the different quarters in which they had been dispersed, and putting himself at the head of a large army, invested Harfleur by land, while the viscount de Narbonne blocked it up by sea in such a manner that no supplies could enter the place.

The duke of Bedford defeats the French fleet, and the constable abandons the siege of Harfleur.

Henry was confounded at this attempt; for he imagined France was not in a condition to undertake such an enterprize. He now plainly perceived himself a dupe to the constable's negotiation; and he endeavoured to amuse him in his turn. He expressed the most sincere inclination to peace, and proposed an interview with his cousin, so he now termed Charles, whom he had before distinguished by the name of his adversary of France. He hoped an

an interview would produce a truce, during which he might succour Harfleur, which was but indifferently provided. His proposal of an interview being rejected, he sent Morgan, as his envoy, to demand a truce, which the constable did not think fit to grant at such a juncture. These attempts, however, did not hinder him from equipping an armament for the relief of Harfleur, which was so vigorously defended by the earl of Dorset, that although the siege began in the middle of June, the constable had made very little progress at the end of July. Henry having assembled his forces and fleet, resolved to embark in person; and it was with great difficulty that the emperor at length dissuaded him from engaging personally in an expedition, the success of which depended as much upon the weather as upon the courage and conduct of the commander. He suffered himself to be persuaded; and delegated the chief command to his brother the duke of Bedford, who set sail about the fifteenth day of August, with a fleet of four hundred ships, having on board twenty thousand land-forces, under the conduct of the earls Mareschal, Oxford, Huntingdon, Warwick, Arundel, Salisbury, and Devonshire. The duke directed his course to the mouth of the Seine, where the French and Genoese fleet lay ready to receive them; and here an obstinate engagement ensued. The enemy's galleys being provided with oars, were more easily wrought and floated in shallower water than the English vessels; and the Genoese cross-bow men were counted the best marines in the world. Notwithstanding these advantages, when they came to close quarters, the English boarded them with great intrepidity, and fought with such fury that the enemy were entirely defeated. Two thousand of their best men were slain, seven of their largest ships sunk in the engagement, four taken, and several driven by the victors

on

A. C. 1416: on the coast, where they perished. The duke of Bedford having thus cleared the mouth of the river, entered Harfleur in triumph; and the constable d'Armagnac raising the siege, retired with precipitation.

Paul, Emil.
Hist. de
Normandy.

The dauphin
John is
poisoned at
Compeigne,
and is suc-
ceeded by his
younger
brother
Charles.

During these transactions, the duke of Burgundy continued to carry on his private negotiations with Henry, under various pretexts; sometimes pretending to renew the truce between England and Flanders; and sometimes to consult about the affairs of the church, depending in the council of Constance. The duke of Burgundy still hesitated between his duty and what he apprehended to be his interest. As a prince of the blood-royal of France and first peer of the realm, he could not conclude an alliance with England, without acting in diametrical opposition to his honour and his duty, and even disobliging his own partisans: he therefore spun out the negotiation, without any design of concluding the alliance, except in case of necessity, until the behaviour of the constable provoked him to throw himself into the arms of England. As the dauphin still resided with his father-in-law at the court of Hainault, the duke of Burgundy resolved, in the mean time, to strengthen his interest by a league with that young prince, who was excluded from his father's court by the power and intrigues of the constable. They had an interview at Valenciennes, where it was agreed, that the dauphin should try once more by fair means to obtain admittance to his father's court and councils, that he might acquire that rank and influence in the administration, to which he was intitled by his birth and expectations; that should the attempt succeed, the duke of Burgundy should be invited to court; but in case of its failure, they should take other measures for dispossessing the constable, and setting the king at liberty from the restraint in which he lived.

lived. In pursuance of this resolution, the dauphin and his father-in-law repaired to Compeigne, from whence the count of Hainault went by himself to Paris, with a view to negotiate the demands of the dauphin, and the return of the duke of Burgundy. But he had no sooner mentioned the name of this nobleman, than he was interrupted by the constable, who declared that the dauphin should never be received at court, until he should have renounced all connexion with the duke of Burgundy. The count of Hainault, provoked at his presumption, could not help dropping some menacing hints, implying that his son-in-law would be obliged to do himself justice, by means of the duke's power and assistance; and, in order to prevent such efforts, the court of France resolved to rid their hands of the dauphin, who, in a few days after this conference, died by poison at Compeigne. He was succeeded in the title of dauphin by his younger brother Charles count of Ponthieu, son-in-law to the king of Sicily, who was suspected of having effected the death of John, whom he himself did not long survive.

Mezerai.

Charles, who was now presumptive heir of the crown, declared in favour of the Armagnac faction; and the constable was more than ever confirmed in the post of minister. His hatred to the duke of Burgundy induced him to seize every opportunity to persecute that prince's adherents, who were very numerous at Paris, until they could no longer endure his tyranny and rapacious disposition; and then they projected a scheme for introducing their chief into the city. The conspiracy was discovered; and the count d'Armagnac wreaked his vengeance upon the whole party of the Burgundians, in such a barbarous manner, as incensed the duke to an eager desire of making reprisals upon the count's adherents. All his scruples now yielded

Negotiations between Henry and the duke of Burgundy.

A. C. 1416. ed to his resentment. He publicly concluded a truce with Henry for all his dominions, comprehending even those he possessed in France; and by his ambassadors at the court of England, agreed to an interview with that prince at Calais, where he promised to do him homage as lawful king of France and his liege sovereign. Mean while the emperor having tried in vain to effect an accommodation between the two crowns, concluded a perpetual alliance with Henry, whom he promised to assist in recovering the kingdom of France; and the English monarch engaged to support him in obliging Charles and some other princes to do him homage for certain countries, which, as he alleged, were fiefs of the empire. This treaty was signed at Canterbury, in his way to Dover, where he embarked for Calais, purposing to stay at that place for Henry, who had agreed to meet the duke of Burgundy in the beginning of October. The court of France, alarmed at the report of this interview, sent thither the archbishop of Rheims and some other ambassadors, on pretence of treating about an accommodation: though the real design of their journey was to discover what should pass at the interview. Henry perceived their drift, and had no objection to their being witnesses of the duke's arrival at Calais: he therefore immediately complied with the request of the French court, when they demanded safe-conducts, and appointed commissioners to treat with them upon the subject of their proposals: but he took such precautions, that they could not, with all their art, divine to the true nature of his transaction with the duke of Burgundy, whose pretence for meeting Henry was to confirm and ratify the truce already published at London.

The king of England crossing the sea about the latter end of September, granted a safe-conduct to the

the duke of Burgundy and his retinue, amounting to eight hundred horsemen; and sent his brother the duke of Gloucester to St. Omers, there to remain as an hostage for the safety of the duke's person. Thus secured, he arrived at Calais, where he was received with great magnificence; and subscribed and swore to the following articles, which had been preconcerted between their respective agents and ambassadors: The king having explained to the duke of Burgundy his right and title to the crown of France, and his intention to obtain by force of arms, the satisfaction which his adversary has hitherto refused, the duke promises to give his letters patent to the following effect: That although, for want of information, he had hitherto adhered to the contrary party, which he thought was in the right, yet now being better informed, he promises henceforth to be firmly attached to the king of England, his heirs and successors, as true and lawful kings of France, in the same manner as if they were actually in possession of the crown: Although for the present the king does not exact homage from the duke; nevertheless the said duke acknowledges it to be due; and promises that as soon as Henry shall be in possession of any considerable part of France, he will do him liege homage, and take the oath of allegiance, as any other vassal of the crown of France ought to do to his sovereign: The duke of Burgundy likewise promises to pursue all the means, and use all the methods which have been secretly stipulated, for putting the king of England in actual possession of the kingdom of France: While the king is employed in the prosecution of his just rights, the duke of Burgundy shall make war with all his might upon Henry's enemies in the kingdom of France; namely, A. B. C. D. and all their territories and possessions, who shall prove disobedient to the king of England: In all the alli-

A. C. 1416.

Who have
an inter-
view at
Calais, and
ratify a se-
cret treaty
of alliance.

A. C. 1416.

ances or letters patent concluded and ratified between the king and the duke, in which the said duke may have excepted the king's adversary or his son, he does not understand that such exception should prejudice his engagements to the king, which shall be punctually fulfilled: If the duke, from political views, may have made some exceptions in favour of the said adversary and his son, he wills and understands, that all such exceptions shall be null and void, and of no value. These articles were reduced to the form of letters patent, written and signed by the duke's own hand, sealed with his privy-seal; and both he and his son the count of Charolois, solemnly swore that they should be punctually performed.

Rymer.

Transac-
tions in
parliament.

Henry having gained a considerable point by this alliance, which reflects eternal disgrace upon the duke of Burgundy, and his son, as traitors to their country, concluded a truce with France till the second day of February, and returned to England, fully determined to recommence the war with redoubled vigour. The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the chancellor gave them to understand, that all the king's intentions had been frustrated by the pride and presumption of the enemy; and that, seeing the dispute must be appealed to the sword; he had concluded treaties of alliance with the emperor and other German princes, of which, however, he could not avail himself without the support of his parliament, whose advice and assistance he craved accordingly. The members were so well pleased with his character and declaration, that they granted two whole tenths and two fifteenths; while the clergy voted two tenths, to be raised from their own body. In the mean time, as this supply could not produce ready money for present service, they voted indemnification to all persons who should accommodate the

king

king for his pressing occasions before the subsidies could be levied. Then the king published a general pardon for all crimes, except such as were capital; and created the earl of Dorset duke of Exeter, in consideration of his gallant defence of Harfleur. Notwithstanding the parliament's liberality, and the convenience of the loan for which they had given security, the supplies proved insufficient to answer the mighty views of Henry, who had resolved to take a body of foreign troops into his service, and pay subsidies to some German princes, whose friendship or neutrality he thought it his interest to secure. To answer these demands, he mortgaged all his own valuable effects: the crown he wore, upon the days of ceremony, was pledged with his uncle the bishop of Winchester; and he pawned his jewels to the mayor of London.

The court of France, startled at Henry's preparations, revolved every measure they could devise to retard his expedition. The constable knew that any propositions coming from him would be deemed insincere at the court of England; and, therefore, he concerted a scheme with the French noblemen who were prisoners at London. In consequence of his instructions, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, with the counts of Eu and Vendome, pretending to look upon the affairs of France as desperate, took occasion to insinuate to the English courtiers, that they were disposed to treat with the king for themselves in particular; and they imagined that Henry would break the ice, and make advances to them on this subject. But, he paid very little regard to their overtures, which he justly supposed were calculated to divert him from his purpose; and they being disappointed in this expectation, at length demanded an audience, in which they desired to know his pretensions, that they might deliberate with themselves, whether or not they could in ho-

Negotiation
between
Henry and
the duke of
Bourbon.

A.C. 1417.

nour comply with his propofals. Henry told them plainly, that he had no other propofal to make, but that they fhould acknowledge him as king of France, and their lawful fovereign: a declaration fo difagreeable, that the duke of Orleans told the king, there was no answer to be made to fuch a demand; and nothing further paffed at this conference. In a few weeks after this audience, the duke of Bourbon gave Henry to underftand, that, by means of certain perfons fent to France to make inquiry about the nature of his majesty's pretentions, he and the other prifoners had received new lights; and that, for his own part, he was perfectly convinced of Henry's juft title to the crown, which he claimed by right of inheritance: but, that as his majesty was willing to defift from that claim, in confideration of certain provinces which he demanded, it was the fentiment of him, and all the prifoners, that the French court fhould comply with his demands; and that they were refolved to employ all their power and influence towards his fatisfaction. He therefore asked permission to go to France, where he would, in the name of himfelf and fellow-prifoners, exhort the king to embrace fuch reasonable propofals; and fhould their advice be rejected, they would deem themfelves abfolved from their allegiance to Charles. The duke engaged for himfelf in particular, to put all his places in the hands of governors devoted to his intereft; to return to England at any time the king fhould prefcribe, and do him homage as his lawful fovereign. But, in the mean time, he begged his majesty would not divulge his propofals until he fhould return, that he might not be expofed to the refentment of the French court, during his refidence in that country. Tho' Henry ftill doubted the duke's fincerity, he was fo agreeably flattered with the profpect of poffeffing fo many fair provinces, without rifque or expence, that he

complied with Bourbon's request: but he did not intermit a moment in his preparations. The duke stayed some time in France, but performed no part of his engagements to Henry, who was so piqued at the attempt to impose on him, that when the duke returned to England, he and his fellow-prisoners were confined to the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, whereas they had been formerly permitted to live at large upon parole.

A. C. 1417.

Act, Pub.

The condition of France was now truly deplorable. The king, incapable of managing the reins of government; the duke of Burgundy, first peer of the realm, and head of a powerful party, engaged in a secret alliance with the enemy of his country; the other princes of the blood prisoners in England; and the kingdom governed by a young prince of fourteen years of age, under the guidance of the count d'Armagnac, a nobleman of the most violent passions, who knew no gratification equal to that of revenge, and openly sacrificed the public good to his resentment and ambition. Henry was not a prince to neglect such a favourable opportunity of executing the great designs he had projected. He ordered his navy to be equipped, and his army to rendezvous at Southampton, by the fourteenth of February. There they assembled, to the number of about eight and twenty thousand men, the flower of the English soldiery, better armed and appointed than any other troops in the world, and commanded by officers of birth, experience, and distinction. Before the king embarked, he sent the earl of Huntingdon, with a squadron to scour the channel, where he fell in with nine large Genoese ships, in the service of France, which he engaged and defeated, after having sunk three, and taken the like number, on board of which was the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, with a half year's pay for the whole French navy: these Huntingdon brought in triumph to the harbour of Southampton.

The earl of Huntingdon obtains a victory over the French by sea.

A. C. 1417.

Henry lands
in Nor-
mandy, and
takes Caen
and other
places.

Henry having appointed the duke of Bedford regent of the kingdom, embarked at Portsmouth on the twenty-third day of July, and landed on the first of August at Beville in Normandy. The first place he invested was the strong castle of Touque, which surrendered on the ninth day of the month; and the reduction of this place was followed by that of Dambierres, which submitted to the earl of Salisbury. By this time the duke of Burgundy had penetrated to the heart of France. The imperious disposition of the constable, the death of the two dauphins, which was imputed to his treachery, and the exile of the queen, whom he had persuaded the dauphin to banish from Paris to Tours, furnished the duke with a plausible pretext for making a diversion in favour of the English monarch. He published a manifesto against the constable, in which he exaggerated his vices and misconduct: then he wrote to the king, signifying, that, as first peer of the realm, he could not help endeavouring to prevent the total ruin of the nation; and, finding that some towns of consequence declared in his favour, he began his march, at the head of an army, for Paris, hoping that the dauphin and constable would either abandon that city, in order to oppose the English, or be obliged to lay aside all thoughts of opposition to the progress of Henry. This last part of the alternative was what they chose, as being much more willing to see part of the kingdom conquered by the public enemy, than the government wrested out of their hands by their private adversaries. For this reason, Henry met with no opposition in the field; though the city of Caen, which he besieged, made a vigorous defence for some time, until the walls, being undermined, he effected a breach in two different parts, and took the place by storm. After having made himself master of the city, he convened the principal inhabitants in the town-hall, commanded them to deliver

deliver up their arms, and then ordered a great number to be put to death, for no other crime than that of having bravely defended their own habitations. The citadel was so furiously plied with his artillery, that, in a few days, the garrison capitulated upon honourable terms. This place being secured with an English garrison, commanded by Sir Gilbert Humfreville and Sir John Popham, Henry detached the duke of Clarence with a body of forces into the Upper Normandy, where he was very successful; while the king himself reduced with very little difficulty, Bayeux, Lisieux, Courcy, Argenton, Seez, Alençon, and several other places of consequence. In this last town he was visited by the duke of Brittany, who concluded a truce with him for one year, in behalf of his own territories; and another, for the same term, in the name of the queen of Sicily, for Anjou and Le Maine, as tutorefs for her son Lewis.

While Henry proceeded with such rapidity in his conquests, queen Isabel, who had been exiled to Tours, made advances towards a coalition with the duke of Burgundy, with whom she had hitherto lived in a state of enmity: but, the desire of being revenged upon the dauphin and constable swallowed up all her resentment against the duke, to whom she sent agents, with proposals of a league against their common enemies. The duke embraced the offer without hesitation; and they privately concerted measures for her deliverance. He set out all of a sudden, from Corbeil, where he was encamped, at the head of a chosen body of horse, and marched with such expedition, that, before his design was known, he reached the abbey of Marmoutier, in the neighbourhood of Tours, where he found the queen, who, by appointment with him, had gone thither on pretence of devotion. He met with no opposition in carrying her off to Troye in Champagne, where he assumed the title of regent; pre-

Coalition
between the
queen of
France and
the duke of
Burgundy.

A. C. 1417. tending, that the king was detained as a prisoner by the dauphin and the count d'Armagnac.

Conferences opened at Bernonville in Normandy. Henry reduces Falaise and several strong places in Normandy.

Tit. Liv. Elmham. Rymer.

The French court seeing their affairs almost desperate, had recourse again to negotiation, and desired that conferences might be opened for an accommodation. Henry assented to the proposal, without interrupting the progress of his arms, and appointed the earl of Warwick, and some others, as ambassadors, to treat with the archbishop of Rheims, chief of the French plenipotentiaries, at Bernonville in Normandy. But these conferences ceased in a very little time; for, in the beginning of the congress, the English envoys declared, that Henry would abate nothing of the following propositions: That the king of England should espouse the princess Catherine: That king Charles should enjoy the crown for life; but that, after his death, it should devolve upon the king of England; and, in the mean time, as Charles was incapable of governing, Henry should act as regent of France. As the French plenipotentiaries had not power sufficient to treat upon these articles, the conferences produced no effect, and the English pursued their operations. Henry undertook the siege of Falaise, and took the town on the twentieth day of December; but the castle did not surrender till the month of February, when it obtained an honourable capitulation. Though the winter was very severe, Henry no sooner reduced this fortress, than he divided his army into three bodies; one of which he detached under the command of his brothers the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, while the other was sent under the conduct of the duke of Exeter, and the earl of Salisbury, to pursue their conquests in different parts of Normandy. Henry himself kept the field also; and, in the months of March and April subdued St. Lo, Carentan, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and several other places. Evereux surrendered in the month of May; and then he invested Cherbourg,

bourg, which, together with Rouen, were the only places of importance in the whole province that now remained unconquered by the English forces. A. C. 1418.

While Henry was employed in the siege of Cherbourg, the court of France underwent a new revolution: the council of Constance, after having deposed three pretended popes, had at length elected the cardinal Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V. and this pontiff, immediately after his elevation, sent two legates to France, to reconcile the two factions of that nation. These agents were, so pressing in their solicitations, that both parties sent deputies to Montereau-faute-yonne, where, after warm disputes, and altercation, it was agreed, that the dauphin, and the duke of Burgundy, should govern the kingdom conjunctly, during the prevalence of the king's disorder. But this convention was frustrated by the intrigues of the constable, who could not endure the thought of the duke's being at the head of the administration. The violent opposition which the count d'Armagnac made to this agreement, which was the measure that bade fairest for the advantage of the kingdom, excited a clamour against him through the whole nation, and particularly in Paris, which had always favoured the cause of Burgundy. The inhabitants, who adhered to that faction, held several consultations in private: they at length, found means to introduce, by night, Lisle d'Adam, governor of Pontoise, one of the duke's most zealous partisans, who entered the city with eight hundred horse; and the Parisians, taking up arms, made a terrible massacre among those that wished well to the Armagnac interest. Tanneguy de Châtel, governor of the Bastile, finding it impracticable to quell this insurrection, ran directly to the Louvre, and, seizing the dauphin in his shirt, conveyed him to his fortress, from whence he, the next day, retired to Melun,

Massacre of
the Armag-
nac faction
in Paris by
the Burgun-
dians.

A. C. 1418. Melun, because he did not think himself safe in the Bastile, from the rage of the populace, who secured the king's person, and committed the constable to prison. Those who had been exiled from Paris, on account of their attachment to the duke of Burgundy, no sooner heard of this transaction, than they returned from all quarters, and inflamed the people with redoubled rage against their adversaries. The massacre was renewed on the twelfth day of June, when the constable was brought from prison, and murdered in the street, through which his body was dragged with the utmost indignity; and his creature the chancellor, several bishops, and others, amounting to the number of two thousand, fell sacrifices to the same unbridled barbarity. When these tumults subsided, the queen and the duke of Burgundy repaired to that city, which they entered in triumph; and having the king in their power, issued whatever edicts, or orders, they thought might be conducive to their own interest; while the dauphin, who likewise assumed the title of regent, threatened all those who should obey the duke of Burgundy: so that the partisans of each faction were treated as rebels by the other; and even a neutrality was accounted criminal. To these distractions, if we add the progress of a conquering enemy in the bowels of the country, and a dreadful plague that ravaged the city of Paris, every reader must own, that the condition of France was truly deplorable.

Monstrelet.

Henry besieges
Rouen.

This revolution in the court of France was, at first, favourable to the views of Henry. The new count of Armagnac, the lord of Albret, and other Gascon noblemen of the same party, who had been very active against the English in Guienne, now found it their interest to conclude a truce, by which he was relieved from a very troublesome diversion, and enabled to withdraw some troops from that country, with which he reinforced his army in Nor-

Normandy. Cherbourg, after a siege of three months, had capitulated; and Point de l'Arche surrendered almost without opposition: so that the city of Rouen was now the sole object of Henry's desire in Normandy; and he resolved to reduce it under his dominion. This was an enterprise of great difficulty, as the place was fortified, and defended by a garrison of four thousand regular troops, besides about seventy thousand inhabitants, fit for service. Guy de Boutelliere, who commanded in the place, turned out all the useless mouths, laid in a great quantity of provisions, cleared the ditches, and made all the preparations for a vigorous defence. Henry having summoned him to surrender, and received for answer, that he would hold out to the last extremity, ordered the town to be invested on all sides; and, in the dispositions he made for this purpose, took such precautions as might serve for a model to a modern engineer. The besieged made a great number of sallies, but were continually repulsed with loss: till, at length, they were so hampered, by his lines of circumvallation, that they durst not venture to come forth, and all communication with the Seine being cut off, both above and below the town, they began to feel the miseries of want. Then they addressed themselves to the duke of Burgundy for succour. That prince followed the maxim of his predecessor and antagonist, the count of Armagnac, and was much more intent upon maintaining himself against the practices of his private enemies, than upon opposing the progress of the king of England. He employed, however, the pope's legates to use their endeavours with Henry to relinquish the siege of Rouen; and the cardinal d'Ursini repaired to the English camp, and offered himself as a mediator; but Henry perceived his drift, and lent a deaf ear to all his propositions.

Then

A. C. 1418.

Manages
two negoti-
ations at the
same time ;
one with the
dauphin and
another
with the
duke of
Burgundy.

Then the duke assembled a body of forces, and pretended he would give battle to the English. On this pretence, he conveyed the king as far as Beauvois ; but attempted nothing further against the enemies of his country. By this time, in all probability, he had altered his sentiments with regard to the king of England, because his revenge was now satiated with the blood of the constable and his adherents ; so that he had no further occasion for Henry's assistance ; and his affection for his own country and family recurring, he could not be well pleased to see the most inveterate enemy of France in the heart of the kingdom which he himself governed. On the other hand, he was obliged to keep measures with Henry, who had it in his power to destroy all the duke's popularity, by publishing the secret treaty of alliance, which would have rendered him odious to all his countrymen. Thus situated, he had observed a kind of equivocal conduct since his re-establishment in the ministry, and seemed to be perfectly neutral in every thing that concerned Henry's success or operations. The besieged, despairing of his assistance, had recourse to the dauphin, who was not in a condition to raise the siege by force of arms ; and therefore attempted it by the method of negotiation. Whether he was really inclined to conclude a lasting peace with Henry, as he pretended, or only endeavoured to amuse him with a treaty ; certain it is, he made overtures to the English monarch, and even expressed a desire of treating, not only concerning the peace with France, and the match between Henry and Catherine, but also about an alliance between the king of England and the dauphin, against the duke of Burgundy. Henry, whose interest it was to widen the breach between the dauphin and the duke, listened to the proposal, in a congress, with pleasure, and appointed the

the archbishop of Canterbury, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, Philip Morgan, and several other able negotiators, his ambassadors, to treat with the dauphin's plenipotentiaries. On this occasion, Henry acted the part of a crafty politician, rather than of a disinterested hero ; for, on the very day that he signed the instructions of those ambassadors, he wrote a letter to the duke of Burgundy, assuring him, that if the negotiation for peace should be renewed, he would do all that lay in his power to bring it to a happy issue. This declaration induced the minister to appoint the bishops of Arras and Beauvois, the first president de Morvillers, and some others, plenipotentiaries to negotiate the accommodation. Thus the king of England, by treating with both parties at one time, imagined he should manage their mutual jealousy, in such a manner, as would tend to his own advantage. The conference between the English ambassadors, and those of the dauphin, were opened on the twenty-sixth day of November, at Alençon, where the former declared they would not treat of the match until the articles of the peace should be adjusted. Then they insisted upon knowing the utmost offers the French envoys had power to make ; and, after numberless arts and evasions practised by the dauphin's agents, understood that he was willing to give up the towns and provinces ceded to England by the treaty of Brétigny, on condition of Henry's doing homage for them to the crown of France. The English rejected the proposal concerning homage, and demanded Normandy, as an addition to the other provinces : they likewise desired to know, what security the dauphin could give for the execution of the treaty ; and the French ambassadors, having no power to treat on these subjects, the conferences proved abortive. This negotiation was hardly at

A. C. 1418. an end, when the ambassadors of the two crowns began another at Pont de l'Arche, under the mediation of the pope's legate : but this was interrupted almost as soon as begun, by a frivolous punctilio, which plainly proved, that the duke of Burgundy was not in earnest. The plenipotentiaries of Charles demanded, that the writings should be engrossed in the French language ; and the English refused to comply with the proposal : in vain did the legates recommend a medium, and advise, that there should be two copies written, one in French, and the other in Latin ; an expedient to which Henry consented : the duke of Burgundy was inflexible ; and the end of the congress was frustrated. Nevertheless, it did not fail to alarm the dauphin, who being ignorant of the particulars of the transaction, apprehended a peace between Henry and the duke of Burgundy, which could not but be to his prejudice : he therefore intreated Henry to appoint a place for renewing the negotiation begun at Alençon ; and the king of England finding his account in blowing the coals of dissention, agreed to send ambassadors to Louviers, in the beginning of February.

Rymer.

Rouen surrendered on capitulation.

A. C. 1419:

These political measures did not at all affect his warlike operations. The siege of Rouen had lasted from July to January ; and the besieged, after having made a noble defence, were reduced to the utmost extremities : they had eaten up all their horses and domestic animals, including even rats, mice, and vermin. They had turned out above twenty thousand miserable wretches, men, women, and children, whom Henry would not allow to pass, but drove back to the walls, under which they lay expiring in heaps, the victims of cold and hunger. At length, those that remained within the town, resolved to make one desperate effort in a general sally, and endeavoured to cut their way through

through the lines of the besiegers. Ten thousand A. C. 1418. men were chosen for this attempt; but when two thousand of the number had passed the bridge, it gave way; and this accident prevented their being joined by their companions. That handful, however, seeing their return cut off, attacked the besiegers with incredible fury, and fought until the greater part of them was cut in pieces; while those that remained at the other end of the bridge, sallied from another gate, and made good their retreat, though not without great loss and difficulty. During this siege and blockade, about fifty thousand of the inhabitants had perished by the sword, by famine, and distemper: the survivors seeing nothing before them but the like misery or slaughter, sent deputies to Henry to solicit terms of capitulation; but he insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. Those deputies could not help upbraiding him with his cruelty in reducing them by famine, when he had such a fair opportunity of distinguishing his valour in taking it by assault; and he was not a little provoked by their reproach. When they reported his inflexibility and imperious behaviour to their fellow-citizens, they collected fresh courage from resentment and despair, and resolved to undermine a large part of the wall; so that, upon its falling, they might rush out in a body, and either force their way through the besiegers, or die at once upon the swords of the enemy. Henry being informed of their desperate design, thought proper to abate of his rigour, and offer terms which, though severe, they accepted. They agreed that the city and castle of Rouen should be surrendered to the king of England, if not relieved before the nineteenth day of January: That all the inhabitants should submit to his mercy: That they should pay three hundred thousand crowns of gold, by way of ransom: And that all the soldiers of the garrison

A. C. 1419. garrison should swear upon the evangelists that they would not bear arms against the king of England before the first day of January next ensuing. These articles being signed and ratified, Henry took possession of the city, which he entered in triumph; but the glory of his exploit was tarnished by his allowing the garrison to be stripped and plundered, and ordering Alain Blanchard to be put to death for his activity and valour in defending himself and his fellow-citizens. Thus the whole dutchy of Normandy fell again under the dominion of England, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been wrested from king John by Philip Augustus. Henry now appeared in ducal robes, as sovereign of Normandy. He established an exchequer, mint, and chamber of finances, at Rouen; he abolished the gabelle on salt, and other unpopular taxes; and, by allowing the citizens to enjoy their ancient privileges, endeavoured to reconcile them to his government.

Elmham.
Goodwin,
Tit. Liv.

Henry agrees
to an inter-
view with
the king of
France.

After the reduction of Rouen, Henry sent part of his army into Picardy, under the command of the duke of Exeter, who soon made himself master of Dieppe and Montreuil; while he himself received the submission of all the country as far as Ponthoise, Beauvais, and Abbeville. Hitherto the duke of Burgundy had hesitated between motives of self-interest and affection for his country; but now the progress of Henry determined him in favour of his duty. He resolved to reconcile himself in good earnest with the dauphin, that the force of the kingdom might be united against the common enemy. But he found this a very difficult task; for such was the hatred of young Charles towards the duke, that he chose rather to run the risque of being deprived of his inheritance, than to sacrifice his private animosity to the advantage of the kingdom. The conferences were renewed at Louviers,
between

between his ambassadors and the English commissioners; but the same difficulties that were started at Alençon now rendered the congress ineffectual; though it was agreed that the king and the dauphin should confer together personally. This interview, however, was postponed from time to time, till at length the dauphin took other measures, which prevented it entirely. Mean while Henry indulged him with a truce, from the twelfth day of February till Easter, for all the country situated between the Loire and the Seine, Normandy excepted. The duke of Burgundy, according to the laudable scheme he had projected, made a proffer of his friendship to the dauphin, with professions of the warmest cordiality; and proposed an interview, that they might confirm their mutual reconciliation, and concert measures for the advantage of the kingdom. His proposal being rejected with disdain, the duke found himself reduced to the necessity of making peace with England. He forthwith sent notice to Henry, that king Charles was sincerely disposed to an accommodation, and desired an interview with him, when, with the assistance of their councils, they might regulate the conditions of the peace, and conclude the marriage which had been so long depending. Henry embraced the proposal without hesitation, and even granted a truce for three months, that they might have leisure to settle the time, place, and manner, or ceremony of the interview.

All France was justly alarmed at this resolution; because every person of intelligence foresaw that no peace could be made at such a conjuncture, but what must have been of infinite prejudice to their country. Several noblemen interposed their best offices in procuring a reconciliation, or at least a suspension of animosity, between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy; and the first would have consented to a cessation of hostilities for three years;

The conferences are opened in the neighbourhood of Meulant.

A. C. 1419. but the duke insisted upon its being limited to two months, during which he purposed to conclude an accommodation with Henry, should the dauphin continue averse to a coalition: thus the negotiation miscarried. At length the two kings agreed to meet under a magnificent tent pitched in the neighbourhood of Meulant: but as the disorder of Charles prevented him from appearing in person, it was stipulated that the queen and the duke of Burgundy should act as his proxies; that the duke of Brittany should be present at the conferences; and that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to discuss the articles by themselves, that no dispute or altercation might arise between the principals. The dukes of Clarence and Gloucester were constituted the plenipotentiaries of Henry, who repaired to Mante, that he might be near the place of conference, while the court of France removed to Pontoise for the same reason. From these two places the French and English courts came every day to the congress; and at the first interview, the queen of France was accompanied by her daughter Catherine, whose beauty made a deep impression upon the heart of the English monarch. The mother perceived the conquest which the princess had made; and, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, kept her up for the future, in hope of irritating the impatience of Henry into some hasty concession. The king at once divined their intention, at which he took umbrage, and in the first transport of his indignation told the duke, that he would never lay down his arms, until he should have the king and the princess in his power; and that he would drive him out of the kingdom, should he presume to oppose his design. This was a mortifying declaration to a prince of the duke's haughty disposition, who nevertheless bridled his passion, and modestly replied that he hoped means would be found to make Henry tired of the war. The

The conferences turned upon three articles, which the English plenipotentiaries proposed as preliminaries to the peace; namely, That the king of England should be put in possession of all that was ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny: That Normandy should be added to that cession: And that he should possess the full sovereignty of all that might be ceded to him by the treaty, without homage or dependence. The duke of Burgundy perceived from the obstinacy of Henry's temper, that a direct opposition to these articles would at once put an end to the conference, which it was his interest to continue, as the only means of effecting a reconciliation with the dauphin; he therefore, without disputing the king's pretensions, delivered to him the counter-demands of France, which we shall mention separately, together with Henry's answer to each apart. Charles demanded that the king of England should renounce his pretensions to the crown of France; and Henry agreed to renounce all but that which should be ceded by the treaty. Charles demanded that he would renounce Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and the sovereignty of Bretagne: but the king disapproved of this article. Charles demanded that the king of England should swear, in behalf of himself and his successors, that he or they should at no time, nor upon any cause whatsoever, receive the crown of France as transferred from any person, what right soever he or she might pretend to have or convey: The king assented to this proposal, on condition that his adversary would take an oath of the same nature, touching the crown of England. Charles demanded that the king of England should cause his renunciations, promises, and engagements, to be enrolled, confirmed, and ratified, in the most authentic manner the French king and his council could devise: The king would not assent to this proposition. Charles in-

A. C. 1419.

Demands of
Henry an-
swered by
the agents of
Charles.

A. C. 1419.

listened upon his being at liberty to give an equivalent for Ponthieu and Montreuil, in any other part of his kingdom: This article was by no means agreeable to Henry. Charles demanded that as there were several places in Normandy which the king of England had not conquered, and which nevertheless were to be ceded to him by the treaty, he would, in consideration of that cession, resign all the conquests he had made in other places; that each should be re-established in the possession of his estate wheresoever it might be situated; and that an alliance should take place between the two crowns: The king approved of this article, on condition that the Scots and rebels should not be comprehended in the alliance. Charles demanded restitution of the six hundred thousand crowns given to king Richard II. as part of the stipulated portion of queen Isabel; as also the payment of four hundred thousand crowns for the jewels of that princess, which were detained in England: The king consented that this sum should be balanced out of the arrears due for the ransom of king John; though he expressed his surprize that the French king should demand four hundred thousand crowns for the jewels of queen Isabel, which were not worth one fourth part of the sum.

A & Pab.
Goodwin.

Accommo-
dation be-
tween the
dauphin and
the duke of
Burgundy.

From the nature of these demands, it plainly appears, that the difficulties might have been easily surmounted, if both parties had been earnest in their desire of peace: but at the same time they were sufficient to keep the treaty in suspense, as long as the duke of Burgundy should chuse to protract it for the furtherance of his designs. Henry actually believed that he was on the eve of a pacification, and invested the archbishop of Canterbury with full power to go to Paris, and in his name conclude the treaty with Charles. But his own arts were now retorted upon himself: he had often carried on ne-
gotiations

negotiations to amuse the duke and the dauphin; and now he himself became a dupe to the same policy. The duke's chief aim in the congress at Meulant, was to excite the apprehension of the dauphin; and it produced the desired effect. That young prince, alarmed at the near prospect of a peace so disadvantageous to France, and prejudicial to his own interest, consented to a reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy, as the only expedient that could prevent such calamity; and, after divers private conferences between their confederates, they at length agreed to a coalition. On the eleventh day of July, they met on the road to Paris, where they embraced each other with seeming affection; and afterwards they signed and ratified a treaty, in which they mutually engaged to love each other like brothers, and resist in common the damnable enterprize of the English, the antient enemies of the kingdom. This accommodation being effected, the duke of Burgundy altered his deportment at the conferences, which were still continued in Meulant. Fearing that Henry's desire of peace would surmount the difficulties he had already started, he added some new articles, to raise fresh obstructions, and expressed dislike to the demands of the king, which he said were vague, obscure, equivocal, and unreasonable. He insisted upon Henry's accepting the offers of France, purely and simply, without entering into any sort of explanation; and even refused to allow those points which were already settled to be committed to writing. This alteration in his manner of acting at length opened the eyes of Henry; the conferences were broke off abruptly, and each side prepared for the recommencement of hostilities. On the twenty-eighth day of July, the king detached the duke of Clarence and the earl of Huntingdon, with a body of troops to surprise Pontoise; and this enterprize was achieved by scalade,

Rymer.

A. C. 1419. with all the desired success. L'Isle Adam, who commanded in the place, found himself so suddenly attacked, that he could hardly escape with a small part of the garrison, the rest of which was either taken or cut in pieces. This was a very valuable acquisition to Henry, as it opened his way to the gates of Paris, from which it was distant only a few leagues, contained a vast quantity of warlike stores, and enriched his army with plunder, exclusive of a large sum of money, which was a very seasonable supply.

Juvenal
des Urfin.
Hist. de Ch.

Unfavour-
able aspect
of Henry's
affairs.

Notwithstanding this advantage, which filled Paris with consternation, Henry's affairs began to assume a very unpromising aspect. Since his last descent upon France he had met with no opposition in the field, because one of the most powerful factions in the kingdom favoured his progress; but now the whole strength of the nation was on the point of being united against his interest. The people of England were by this time tired of the war; which had already drained them of men and money; for the king had received divers large reinforcements from his own dominions since he landed in Normandy; and the parliament had granted aid upon aid, and subsidy after subsidy, until the subjects exclaimed that the conquest of France would ruin England. The dauphin had engaged the kings of Castile and Arragon in his interest. Their united forces had already entered Bearn, and ravaged the country to the gates of Bayonne, which they threatened to besiege; and a large Castilian fleet had received orders to sail to Scotland, and transport from thence a body of troops assembled for the service of the dauphin. Henry had likewise great reason to believe that the Flemings, who had refused to serve under the duke of Burgundy as an enemy to France, would cheerfully join him in defence of that kingdom.

Em.

Embarrassed as he must have been by these considerations, he maintained his pretensions without any signs of doubt or despondence: and even affected to declare that he would not be contented with the concessions of Charles to what he demanded at Meulant, without the addition of Pontoise, which he had conquered since that congress. In all probability he would have found it convenient to change his strain, had not the rancour and perfidy of the dauphin co-operated with his endeavours. Mean while he undertook the siege of Gisors, which he carried on with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the advantage of its situation in the midst of fens and marshes that rendered it very difficult of access, and a numerous garrison commanded by experienced officers, it was obliged to surrender upon capitulation. Chateau-Galliard was reduced by the duke of Gloucester, after having made an obstinate defence for six months; and Roche-gyon, with the castle of Aumaule, was taken by a detachment under the command of the earl of Warwick. Then Ivry fell into the hands of the English, together with the castles of Montjoye and St. Germain-en-laye; and lastly, he besieged and took Meulant, from whence he detached the duke of Clarence with a body of forces to the neighbourhood of Paris.

The dauphin, though seemingly reconciled to the duke of Burgundy, still harboured in his heart that animosity which he had imbibed from his infancy; and which now, like a fire half smothered, glowed more intensely than before. He refused to appear at court while the duke maintained any influence in the council; and as he wanted to engross the administration into his own hands, he scrupled at no means, how treacherous soever, for the accomplishment of that aim. He resolved to proceed by assassination, and to execute his purpose at Pouilly;

A.C. 1419.
He proceeds
with his
conquests.

Elmham.

The duke of
Burgundy is
assassinated
by the direc-
tion of the
dauphin.

A. C. 1419. but thought proper to postpone his design, because the duke was surrounded by a strong body of forces. The dauphin afterwards advancing at the head of twenty thousand men towards Montereau-sur-yonne, invited the duke to a conference on a bridge between the town and castle, where they might concert measures for the campaign against the English, and settle some other affairs of importance. The duke readily complied with his proposal; and, tho' apprised on the road of the dauphin's design, rather than give a handle for a rupture, by exhibiting any marks of suspicion, he proceeded to the appointed place, where he was murdered by Tanguy de Châtel and his accomplices.

Monstrelet.

Negotiation
between
Henry and
the young
duke of
Burgundy.

The posture of affairs was totally changed by this event. The Parisians were exasperated at the murder of their favourite; and his son Philip was transported with the desire of revenge to such a degree, that he resolved to sacrifice the welfare of his country to that passion. He first of all renewed his father's connection with queen Isabel, who had always acted as the inveterate enemy of her son; and thus becoming master of the king's person, was considered as regent by those who did not obey the dauphin. Then he began a negotiation with the king of England, which was in effect a conspiracy against his country. Since the reduction of Pontoise the court had removed to Troye, on account of the enemy's incursions to the very gates of Paris, the inhabitants of which, finding themselves hampered and harrassed by the English, solicited and obtained of Henry a particular truce for five days, during which the treaty was concluded between him and Charles, by the interposition of the queen and the duke of Burgundy. Since the death of the last duke, Henry had risen in his demands. Renouncing the proposals he had made * Meulant, he now resumed his pretensions to the crown

crown of France, and insisted upon the following articles: He offered to marry the princess Catherine without a dower: He promised that he would not interrupt king Charles in the enjoyment of his crown, or intermeddle with the revenues during the natural life of that monarch: And that the queen should maintain her dignity in the same manner: But he demanded, that, after the death of Charles, the crown of France should devolve upon the king of England and his heirs for ever: That, on account of the disorder of Charles, which hindered him from managing the reins of government, the king of England should undertake the administration, in quality of regent, even during the life of his father-in-law: That the princes, noblemen, communities, and burghers of the kingdom, should take the oath to the king of England, as regent, promising to acknowledge him for their sovereign after the death of Charles: That the king of France should deliver to the king of England letters-patent under his great seal, as a confirmation and security for the punctual observance of these articles: That letters of the same nature should be signed by the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and the peers of the realm, in explicit terms, free from all equivocation: And the king of England promised on his part to grant letters-patent of the same import.

These fundamental points being settled, the duke of Burgundy ratified them as wholesome, useful, reasonable, and tending to the advantage of France and of all Christendom. Then a general truce was published, to be in force from the twenty-fourth day of December, till the first day of March in the following year: and these preliminaries of a general peace being ratified, a particular treaty of league and confederation was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Henry and the duke of Burgundy,

Peace between
France and
England
concluded
and ratified
at Troye.

A. C. 1419. on condition that one of the king's brothers should marry one of the duke's daughters; that the king and the duke should be united in the bonds of natural affection; and that they should join their endeavours for punishing the dauphin and the other murderers of the late duke of Burgundy; that if the said dauphin, or any other of the assassins, should be taken by Henry, he or they should not be released without the consent of the duke of Burgundy; that the king of England should allot to the duke and his dutchess, daughter of king Charles, lands to the value of twenty thousand livres a year, as near as possible to the territories he already possessed in France, for which lands they should do homage to the crown; and that they should receive a charter for these lands under the great seal, to be confirmed by Henry as soon as he should be in possession of the regency; that if for the future any person, under the pretext of a marriage with one of the daughters of France, should pretend to such an assignment of lands, the duke should assist the king with all his power in opposing his pretensions. As it was found necessary to alter the form of the articles of the general peace between France and England, in order to avoid all doubts and obscurities, the truce was prolonged, that Henry's ambassadors might have time to concert the form of the treaty with the duke of Burgundy at Troye, where the peace was confirmed on the twenty-first day of May by the oaths of the contracting parties, the queen and the duke of Burgundy swearing as proxies for Charles. This important affair being terminated with all the usual formalities, Henry presented the princess Catherine with a ring of great value; and the marriage-contract was immediately settled, tho' the nuptials were not consummated till the second day of June. In the treaty of Troye, besides the articles already mentioned, it was stipulated that

the

Rymer.

A. C. 1420.
Henry mar-
ries the
princess Ca-
therine.

the laws, customs, and privileges of France should remain inviolate; that the king of England should assist Charles with all his power, in reducing the provinces, towns, and places, possessed by the dauphin and the party of Armagnac; that all the conquests to be made in France, Normandy excepted, should be for the advantage of the reigning king; that when the king of England should ascend the throne of France, Normandy itself and all his other conquests should be reunited to the crown; that when Henry, or any one of his heirs, should receive the crown of France, the two kingdoms of France and England should be united for ever under one sovereign, though intirely independent of each other, enjoying their own distinct laws, customs, and immunities; and that no peace should be made with the dauphin, but by the joint consent of the two kings and the duke of Burgundy.

Act. Pub.

After the celebration of the nuptials, the two courts set out together for Sens, which was already invested by the English and Burgundian forces. The dauphin had received a reinforcement of seven thousand Scots, commanded by John earl of Buchan. He had put strong garrisons into Melun, Montereau, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne: he had taken Pont de St. Esprit in Languedoc by assault, reduced Nismes, and appointed a rendezvous of all his forces at Bourges in Berry. Sens, after a resistance of ten days, surrendered to Henry by capitulation. Then he marched to Montereau, where the duke of Burgundy had been assassinated. The town was taken by assault; but Guitrie, who commanded the garrison, retiring into the castle, refused to surrender. The king of England, provoked at his obstinacy, gave the principal citizens to understand, that they should be put to death, if they could not prevail upon that officer to submit; but he remaining deaf to all their intreaties and

Progress of
the English
and Burgun-
dians.

A. C. 1420.

Des Urfin.
Hist. de Cha.
VI.Remarkable
siege of Me-
lun.

and lamentations, they were hanged on gibbets erected before the castle. Then Henry assaulted the place with fresh fury; and after it had held out eight days, De Guitrie capitulated for himself and forty persons, whom he carried off to the dauphin. The body of the duke of Burgundy being found interred in a very indecent manner, was by his son taken up and transported to Dijon, where it was buried with great solemnity. About the middle of July the confederate army undertook the siege of Melun, a place of great importance, strongly fortified, and secured by a numerous garrison commanded by Barbazan, an officer of great courage and experience, who was suspected of having been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. The king had just received a reinforcement of two thousand archers and eight hundred men at arms from England, under the command of the duke of Bedford, who had left his brother Gloucester regent in his absence. All the troops that both chiefs could assemble, were scarce sufficient to achieve the enterprize they had undertaken. The besieged attacked them, and destroyed their works in repeated sallies: the besiegers were repulsed with great loss in several successive assaults; and when they proceeded by the method of sapping, they found themselves countermined by the indefatigable Barbazan, who encountered Henry in a mine, and fought with him hand to hand, until the king admiring his valour, asked his name; when he answered Barbazan: "Well," said Henry, "you have fought with the king of England." Even after considerable breaches were made in the walls, Henry would not venture to give the assault against such desperate defendants, and converted the siege into a blockade. The dauphin marched to the relief of the place at the head of sixteen thousand men, but found all the avenues guarded in such a manner,

manner, as prevented him from throwing in supplies; and he retreated without having made any attempt upon the quarters of the besiegers. At length the garrison having consumed all their provisions, and subsisted for some time on the flesh of horses, dogs, and other domestic animals, and seeing no prospect of relief, Barbazan was obliged to surrender on capitulation; by which all the French troops in garrison were ensured in their lives, except such as should be found to have been concerned in the death of the duke of Burgundy. Barbazan himself lay under this imputation, and would certainly have lost his life, had not he pleaded that he was Henry's brother at arms, as having fought him in single combat. This plea exempted him from an ignominious death; though he was detained prisoner above twenty years in the Chateau-Galliard. Henry ordered twenty Scots who were found in the place to be hanged up as rebels, on pretence that they had carried arms against their own king, who being Henry's prisoner, served as a volunteer on this occasion. He is likewise taxed with having violated the capitulation in other respects, in confining the rest of the garrison within prisons and dungeons, where they perished by famine.

Jean Juven.
Des Urſin.
Hiſt. de Cha.
VI.

Melun being reduced, and the earl of Huntingdon appointed governor of the place, the two courts repaired to the capital; and Henry, with his father-in-law, made his public entry with great magnificence. By this time, however, the seeds of contention were sown between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy. This prince, as well as the French peers and officers in general, was extremely disgusted with the manners of Henry, who, being naturally proud and imperious, treated them with marks of indifference and contempt. The prince of Orange had retired with his forces from

Henry enters
Paris in triumph.

A. C. 1420. from the siege of Melun, and even refused to subscribe to the treaty of Troye, against which he loudly exclaimed, merely because he had received some personal affront from the king of England: but nothing gave such umbrage to the duke, as Henry's engrossing the whole direction of affairs, and leaving him a mere cypher in the administration. The king had taken possession of the Bastile, after having expelled the duke's garrison: he surprised and secured the castle of Vincennes, and several other fortresses in the same manner; and superseded the count de St. Pol, governor of Paris, in favour of his brother the duke of Clarence: he took up his residence in the Louvre, where his court was numerous and magnificent, while that of Charles was mean and solitary: the English troops were cantoned in the avenues of Paris, and part of them quartered in the heart of the city, where, in spite of all the king's discipline, they committed numberless outrages, and rendered themselves extremely odious to the inhabitants. In the beginning of December the estates of the kingdom assembled at Paris: Charles being then in one of his lucid intervals, presided in person, and declared that he had, of his own free will and motion, concluded a peace with the king of England, which he was persuaded would be for the advantage of the kingdom; he therefore desired they would confirm it by their sanction and authority. Though they had very little reason to be pleased with this pacification, they would not be so rash as to speak their real sentiments at such a conjuncture; but, on the contrary, unanimously decreed that the peace of Troye should be observed as a public law; and that all the French subjects should take the oaths prescribed in that treaty.

A. C. 1421. On the twenty-third day of the month, Charles having summoned an extraordinary council, the duke

duke of Burgundy appeared in deep mourning, and demanded justice on the murderers of his father. The dauphin, with his accomplices, being summoned to appear at the marble table; and paying no regard to the citation, were convicted, attainted, and condemned to perpetual exile; and he, on the other hand, appealed to God, and his own sword, from this sentence, as well as from all proceedings that might be carried on to his prejudice in the name of his father. He still preserved the title of regent, in which quality he transferred the parliament and university of Paris to Poitiers, where some members of those two bodies actually assembled; so that France at this period exhibited two kings, two queens, two regents, all the officers of the crown doubled, seven or eight marshals of France on each side, with two parliaments and two universities of Paris. Although Henry had been declared regent and heir of the crown by the Burgundian faction, which had the king in their power, the remote provinces, which had not been exposed to the English hostilities, still adhered to the dauphin, and even many places in the neighbourhood of Paris; so that Henry had a difficult task to perform before the war could be extinguished, especially as he and his troops were extremely disagreeable to the whole French nation. At this period the chiefs of the Armagnac party in Guienne, despairing of being able to maintain a war against Henry, who was now the acknowledged heir of France, sued for peace and pardon, which he willingly granted, after they had renounced the appeal which their ancestors had made to the court of peers in France, during the reign of the third Edward.

Henry's presence was now necessary in England, to procure the sanction of the parliament to the peace of Troye; to obtain a subsidy for the prosecution

A. C. 1421.

Decree of the council of France against the murderers of the duke of Burgundy.

Henry returns to England.

A. C. 1421. secution of the war against the dauphin; and to take measures for detaching the Scots from the interest of the enemy. Having therefore appointed English commanders in the strong places he had taken, and constituted the duke of Exeter governor of Paris, he took the road to Rouen in Normandy, where he convoked an assembly of the states of that province, and received a considerable supply from the laity and clergy. Leaving the duke of Clarence to command the army, he embarked, at the latter end of January, for England, with his young queen, who was crowned on the third Sunday of Lent, at Westminster, with great magnificence. Immediately after his arrival in his English dominions, he summoned a parliament to meet on the second day of May, at Leicester; and, in the mean time, made a progress through great part of England, on pretence of gratifying the queen with a sight of the country: though his real design was to influence the elections, that the ensuing parliament might be favourable to his views. Before the meeting of parliament, he received the tidings of a disaster in France, which affected him with equal sorrow and surprize, and abridged the term of his residence in England.

The duke of
Clarence is
defeated and
slain at
Baugé.

The duke of Clarence had marched with ten thousand men into Anjou, with a view to reduce that province, which adhered to the dauphin; being informed that seven thousand Scots, commanded by the earl of Buchan, were encamped at Baugé, in such a straggling manner, that the van might be easily cut off before the rear could come to its assistance, he resolved to attack them immediately; and, putting himself at the head of his horse, began his march, after having ordered the earl of Salisbury to follow with the rest of the forces. When the duke reached Baugé, he found some Scottish troops intrenched in a church-yard, and spent so much time
in

in attempting to dislodge them, that the earl of Buchan being alarmed, assembled his forces, and marched up to their assistance. Clarence, instead of waiting for the earl of Salisbury, attacked the new-comers with great impetuosity, and performed many exploits of personal valour, until he was wounded in the face with a spear by a Scottish knight called Swinton, and afterwards killed with a truncheon by the earl of Buchan. His cavalry were totally routed, fifteen hundred left dead on the spot, among which number were the lord Roos, Sir John Grey, and Sir Gilbert Umfreville; and the earls of Huntingdon, Somerset, and Mortagne; the lord Fitzwalter, and many other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners. The earl of Salisbury did not come up till after the battle; but he favoured the retreat of the fugitives, and recovered the body of the duke of Clarence, whose death was justly regretted by all his countrymen. The dauphin was so well pleased with this victory, that he created the earl of Buchan constable of France; and that nobleman, in order to maintain the reputation he had acquired, undertook the siege of Alençon, which the earl of Salisbury attempted to raise; but he was repulsed with some loss by the besiegers, tho' Buchan was afterwards obliged to abandon the enterprize for want of artillery. Nevertheless, the dauphin's party began to recover their spirits, and gained several advantages over the Burgundians. Lahire, one of the dauphin's partisans, defeated a body of troops under the count de Vaudemont, who was taken prisoner; and the war was carried on with great vigour in Ponthieu, where the Burgundians were worsted in several encounters.

Monstrelet;

These transactions induced Henry to hasten his return to France: but, in the mean time, his attention was employed on the affairs of parliament,

Henry's transaction with James king of Scotland.

A. C. 1421.

which, meeting at the appointed time, chearfully confirmed the treaty of Troye, a peace so glorious for England, and granted a subsidy for the continuation of the war against the dauphin; but, at the same time, they presented an address to his majesty, in which they observed, that the conquest of France would be the ruin of England. During this session of parliament, several wholesome laws were enacted; and, among the rest, it was decreed, that no ecclesiastic, appointed by the pope, should be admitted to a benefice without the consent of the patron. This statute was a mortal blow to the clause *Non Obstante*, which had been so often used by the popes in the exercise of their usurped authority, with respect to the collation of benefices. Before the parliament broke up, a treaty was concluded and ratified between England and Genoa, which was very advantageous to Henry, as it deprived the French of an useful ally. His next care was, to persuade his prisoner, James king of Scotland, to recal the troops which had been sent over to France, under the command of the earl of Buchan; and that prince, in consequence of some private stipulation with the king of England, laid his commands upon his subjects, to quit the service of the dauphin; but the earl replied, that they did not think themselves bound, by any ties, to obey the orders of their king, while he remained in the hands of his adversary, and must be supposed to act from compulsion. This order of James, however, furnished Henry with a pretence for treating, as rebels, all the Scots that were taken in the service of the dauphin. By this time, the duke of Albany was dead, and succeeded in the regency of Scotland by his son Murdoc earl of Fife, who had been lately released from his captivity in England. It was since his accession to the ministry, that the auxiliaries had been sent to France;

France; and, therefore, he became disagreeable to the king of England, who, in order to encourage a party that should counterbalance his interest in Scotland, permitted James to revisit his own country, on his giving security for his return, and assuring Henry he would do his endeavour to dissolve the alliance between Scotland and the dauphin.

Henry having thus finished the business that called him into England, appointed the duke of Bedford regent of the kingdom; and, leaving the queen pretty far advanced in her pregnancy, set sail for Calais, on the tenth day of June, with a new-raised army, amounting to thirty thousand men, the greater part of whom were archers. On his arrival at Calais, he detached twelve hundred chosen horse, under the command of the earl of Dorset and lord Clifford, to the relief of the duke of Exeter, who was besieged in Paris by the dauphin: but when this reinforcement entered the city, he withdrew his forces, and, in a little time, undertook the siege of Chartres. The king having sent off divers detachments to reduce some castles in Picardy, which still held out for the dauphin, marched in person with the rest of his army to Bois le Vincennes, and from thence went to Paris on a visit to his father-in-law. Understanding that the dauphin had invested Chartres, he directed his route to that place, in hope of deciding the dispute by a battle; but, as he approached, the other retired, and Henry pursued him for a considerable way, until perceiving that he could not undertake, or draw him to an engagement, he turned off to Dreux, which made no resistance, but surrendered at the first summons. After the reduction of this place, his army was so terribly afflicted with the dysentery, that he ordered them into quarters of refreshment, while he himself returned to Paris, where he formed the design

His third
expedition
into France.

A. C. 1421. of besieging Meaux, one of the most important places that owned the dauphin's authority; strongly fortified by art and nature, and provided with a numerous garrison, commanded by the bastard of Vaurus, who had distinguished himself by his activity and rancour against the Burgundians.

Desperate
defence of
the garrison
of Meaux.

This place was invested by Henry on the sixth day of October, and the siege lasted all the winter; during which, he lost a great number of men by the inclemency of the weather and fatigue, as well as by the valour of the besieged, who made incredible efforts in their own defence. The town was divided into two parts, called the city and the Marché; the first of which was taken by storm in the winter, but the other was defended with infinite obstinacy. The lord Cornwall's son, a youth of great expectation, and the earl of Dorset, lost their lives at this memorable siege, besides a great number of other gallant officers, in two successive assaults, that miscarried in spite of all Henry's conduct and intrepidity. At length, the garrison being reduced to the utmost extremity, after a defence of seven months, demanded a capitulation; but Henry, who was exasperated at their obstinacy, insisted upon their surrendering at discretion; he even excluded, from all hopes of mercy, the English, Scots, and Irish, who should be found among the defendants, with all those who had been concerned in the death of the duke of Burgundy. They were obliged to submit to such terms as he was pleased to impose. After he had taken possession of the town, he commanded three officers to be instantly beheaded, and the bastard of Vaurus to be hanged upon a tree, which was distinguished by his name, because he had used it as a gibbet for the execution of all the Burgundians that fell into his hands.

Wimham.
Montrelet.
Rymer.

While

While Henry was employed in the siege of Meaux, he received the agreeable news of his queen's being safely delivered of a son at Windsor, who was baptised by the name of Henry, and lived to be one of the most unfortunate monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of England. About the time that Meaux capitulated, the queen was in a condition to travel; and arrived in France, accompanied by the duke of Bedford, who left his brother Gloucester regent in his absence. The two courts joining at Bois de Vincennes, went together to Paris to pass the Whitsun holidays. On the day of Pentecost, the two kings and queens dined together in public, with their crowns upon their heads; and the French, who wished well to their country, could not, without deep-felt sorrow, behold the king of England governing France with absolute authority. Their disgust was augmented by an arbitrary tax he imposed in relation to a new coinage, at which the Parisians murmured in vain. Their situation was no longer what it seemed to be a few years before, when they held the balance between the two factions, and had it in their power to make either scale preponderate. While Henry enjoyed this recess from the fatigues of war, the dauphin made himself master of la Charité, opened the passage of the Loire, and afterwards invested Cosne on the same river; which agreed to surrender, if not relieved by the duke of Burgundy, by the eighteenth day of August.

A. C. 1422.
The queen
delivered of
a son at
Windsor.

The duke's honour being thus engaged for the relief of the place, he sent to the king for a reinforcement of troops; and Henry gave him to understand he would be there in person. He accordingly began his march for this purpose; but was attacked by a dysentery, which obliged him to halt at Senlis, from whence he was carried to Bois de Vincennes, after having bestowed the command of

Henry is
seized with
a dangerous
distemper.

A. C. 1422. the troops upon the duke of Bedford, and ordered him to join the duke of Burgundy with all expedition. The dauphin being informed of their junction, and finding himself too weak to cope with them in the field, retired behind the Loire, and the two dukes marched to Troye in Champagne. Mean while Henry's malady encreased to such a degree, that the physicians despaired of his recovery; and he began to prepare for death, with that courage and intrepidity by which he had never been forsaken.

Elmham. Feeling his last hour approaching, he sent for the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and all the English noblemen who happened to be in that neighbourhood, that they might hear his last instructions. Addressing himself to them, with an audible voice and chearful countenance, he observed that his reign, though short, had been glorious; that though his wars had occasioned a great deal of bloodshed, it could not be justly imputed to him, but to the French, who would not listen to equitable terms of accommodation: that, with respect to himself, he could meet death without the least apprehension; but he could not help lamenting the fate of the prince his son, who, being an infant, could not finish the work he had so happily begun. He therefore, conjured them, in the name of God, to unite their interests and zeal in behalf of that young prince who was born to be their sovereign; to watch over his education, and as much as lay in their power, console the queen in her affliction: he exhorted them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy; to detain the prisoners who had been taken at Agincourt, until his son should be of age to assume the reins of government; and whatever peace they might find it convenient to make with France, to preserve the sovereignty of Normandy to England. Finally, he expressed a desire that the duke of Bedford might be charged with

the

His last address to his nobles.

the administration of France; and that the duke of Gloucester might govern England during the prince's minority. A. C. 1422.

Having spoke to this effect, he enquired of his physicians how long they thought he should live; when one of them kneeling by the bed-side, while the tears trickled down his cheeks, declared, that without a miracle, two hours would put an end to his life. He heard this dreadful sentence without the least emotion, and having made confession of his sins, ordered his chaplains to recite the seven penitential psalms. When they pronounced these words, "Rebuild the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted them, and declared, on the word of a dying prince, that his intention was to turn his arms against the infidels in the Holy Land, as soon as he should have established a solid peace with France. This exercise of devotion being ended, Henry expired on the thirty-first day of August, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a glorious reign of nine years, four months, and eleven days. His body was conveyed to England, and interred at Westminster, among his ancestors, with such pomp and magnificence as befitted the splendor of his reign; and the queen, in memory of such an illustrious consort, placed upon his monument his statue of silver as big as the life, which it perfectly resembled. His death and character.

Henry was tall and slender, with a long neck, an engaging aspect, and limbs of the most elegant turn. He excelled all the youth of that age in agility, and the exercise of arms; was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring cold, hunger, and fatigue, than any individual in his army. His valour was such as no danger could startle, and no difficulty oppose: nor was his policy inferior to his courage. He managed the dissensions among his

Rymer. Monstrelet.

A. C. 1422. enemies with such address as spoke him consummate in the arts of the cabinet. He fomented their jealousies, and converted their mutual resentment to his own advantage. Henry possessed a self-taught genius, that blazed out at once without the aid of instruction or experience; and a fund of natural sagacity that made ample amends for these defects. He was chaste, temperate, modest, and devout, scrupulously just in his administration, and severely exact in the discipline of his army, upon which he knew his glory and success in a great measure depended. In a word, it must be owned he was without an equal in the arts of war, policy, and government. But we cannot be so far dazzled with his great qualities, as to overlook the defects in his character. His pride and imperious temper lost him the hearts of the French nobility, and frequently broke out in outrage and abuse; as at the siege of Melun, where he treated the marshal l'Isle d'Adam with the utmost indignity, although that nobleman had given him no other offence than that of coming into his presence in plain, tho' decent, apparel. That his disposition was cruel, appears too evident from the massacre of the prisoners at Agincourt; from his behaviour to the garrisons of Rouen, Melun, and other places, which he found difficulty in reducing; as well as from the persecution of the Lollards, which could not have been countenanced by a prince of humanity. Those unhappy wretches seem to have been sacrificed to his interest, as well as to his religious bigotry; for they were so many victims, by which he rendered the clergy propitious to his views. All his renown was founded upon the most pernicious ambition, which seemed to swallow up every principle of justice, and every consideration of humanity. He could not but know the weakness of that title in support

support of which he shed the blood of two hundred thousand men, ruined a still greater number of families, laid waste the fairest provinces of Europe, and encouraged, nay bribed with offers of friendship and alliance the first noblemen in France, to renounce their allegiance and betray their country. It must be owned, indeed, that these were the vices of the times rather than of Henry. Europe was not yet humanized from the savage manners of the northern barbarians, by which it had been overrun; and it may not be amiss to observe, that from the conquest of England by William of Normandy, to the period of which we now treat, the throne had not been filled with one prince whose reign was not marked with such acts of cruelty or perfidy as would fix an indelible stain of infamy on any modern character. This was likewise the case of all the neighbouring nations, which seem to have been ruled by princes of the same family and complexion. Without imbibing any tincture of the liberal arts, which enlarge the faculties of the soul, and determine it to pursuits more worthy of humanity; without being taught the lessons of universal benevolence and true morality, the sole objects of their education were war and superstition. They were trained up in maxims of arbitrary power, that considered the bulk of mankind as slaves subservient to their interest and ambition. They were taught from their infancy to believe that the most flagrant crimes might be expiated by benefactions to the church; and that common injustice and usurpation were sufficiently atoned by a regular performance of religious exercise. Henry had been encouraged and exhorted by his prelates to undertake the war with France. In his last moments he appealed to heaven for the justification of his conduct. He had attacked the kingdom of France without the least provocation: he had filled it with widows and orphans,

A. C. 1422.

phans, lamentation, misery, and every species of distress; and yet he died in full conviction of having acted according to the dictates of equity. There is no room to suspect him of dissimulation at such a juncture; and those who are acquainted with the human mind, will conceive how easily conscience is brought over to espouse the cause of any ruling passion.

HENRY





HENRY VI.

H E N R Y VI.

Surnamed of WINDSOR.

THE death of Henry V. was no sooner known than the duke of Gloucester, who exercised the office of guardian, issued writs in the name of young Henry, for a parliament to meet on the ninth day of November at Westminster; and in the mean time the young king, being about nine months old, was proclaimed at London. The parliament meeting at the appointed time, payed no regard to the verbal declaration of the late king, appointing Gloucester regent of England. They vested this high trust in his elder brother John duke of Bedford; though Humphrey was allowed to act in his absence. The duke of Bedford was therefore chosen protector, defender of the realm and the church of England, and the king's principal counsellor, with a salary of eight thousand marks to support the dignity of that office. At the same time they appointed a council, by whose advice all the affairs of the kingdom were to be administered; the protector, in their deliberations, having no other prerogative than that of a deciding voice, in case of an equal division. This important point being established, they made some other regulations touching sheriffs, bailiffs, and justices of the peace; and having continued the tonnage and poundage, with the subsidy on wool, for two years longer, were dissolved. Before they broke up, however, they appointed governors to take charge of the king's person and education. These were Thomas Beaufort duke of Exeter, and his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, the king's great uncles. This last was a prelate of great wealth, arrogance,

A. C. 1422.

Henry VI. proclaimed king; and the duke of Bedford declared protector of England. His brother Gloucester impowered by parliament to govern in his absence.

A. C. 1422. gance, and ambition; and by his office he acquired great influence in the councils of England; and even surpassed the duke of Gloucester in credit. There seemed to be a contest between them in point of authority, which turned out very prejudicial to the interest of their sovereign. The duke of Gloucester had scarce taken possession of his new dignity, when he married Jaqueline daughter of William V. duke of Bavaria, and heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. She had been married to John dauphin of France, and after his death compelled by her mother to wed the duke of Brabant, whose person she detested. Indeed they seemed to hate one another; and after they had lived together some time in continual dissention, she made an elopement to England, where she was hospitably received by the late king, and applied to the pope for a divorce; but as this could not be obtained, she gave her hand to the duke of Gloucester, by virtue of a licence from the antipope Benedict; and this preposterous marriage was productive of great mischief to England.

Death of
Charles VI.
king of
France.

Charles VI. of France survived his son-in-law but fifty days; and his death produced a total revolution in the affairs of that kingdom. Many French noblemen, who thought it their duty to obey the king, without examining narrowly whether or not his conduct was for the advantage of their country, now believed themselves under the same obligation to the dauphin, notwithstanding the treaty of Troye, which was the effect of violence and compulsion. The duke of Bedford was not ignorant of their sentiments; and therefore the eyes of Charles were no sooner closed, than he proclaimed Henry king of France, and assumed the title of regent, according to the appointment of his late brother Henry king of England. He then assembled all the French noblemen who adhered to the

the English interest, and they took the oath of allegiance to young Henry; which was likewise exacted of all the towns that were under the dominion of the English. After this ceremony the council of France and the city of Paris sent deputies to London, to congratulate the young king upon his accession to both crowns; and they had instructions to pass thro' the Low Countries, to exhort the duke of Burgundy to continue firm to the articles of his alliance.

While the duke of Bedford took these necessary precautions in behalf of his nephew, the dauphin, who was at Espaly, an house belonging to the bishop of Puy, caused himself to be immediately proclaimed king of France, and repaired to Poitiers, where he was consecrated in the beginning of November. He possessed all Languedoc, Dauphiné, Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, part of Saintonge, the town of Rochelle, and Poitou; and besides these provinces he looked upon Provence, Maine, and Anjou, as countries on whose attachment he might depend. On the other hand, Henry's interest prevailed in Normandy and Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, Brie, the isle of France, and the city of Paris, besides the two Burgundies, Flanders, and Artois, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy, who was his vassal and ally. Such being the situation of affairs, the war might have been carried on in all the provinces of France, except Bretagne, which observed an exact neutrality; tho' the scene of action was chiefly confined to Picardy, Champagne, La Brie, and the Isle of France; because the English were desirous of expelling the dauphin's garrisons from these provinces, before they would carry the war to the other side of the Loire; and it was the interest of Charles to make his chief efforts in those countries, that his enemies might be prevented from penetrating into the more southern provinces. John V.

State of the
kingdom of
France,

Mezerai.
Monstrelet,

duke

A. C. 1422. duke of Bretagne still adhered to his neutrality, as well as his brother Arthur count de Richemont; though both leaned towards the English interest. The duke of Burgundy resolved to observe punctually the articles of his alliance, on account of his personal hatred to Charles, who had murdered his father. Lewis III. duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, espoused the cause of Charles, who had married his sister. The count de Foix and his brothers declared for the English; though they afterwards changed their party. The houses of Armagnac and Albret had made their peace with Henry V. but now engaged in the interest of Charles. The duke of Orleans and his brother the count de Angoulême, were both prisoners in England; but Charles was assisted by their friends, adherents, and influence. The same party was embraced by John duke of Alençon, and his brother Peter the Bastard, who was counted one of the best warriors in the kingdom. John duke of Bourbon being prisoner in England, could have no personal share in these contests: but his eldest son, the count of Clermont, was strongly attached to Charles, for whose service he maintained all the places belonging to the duke his father. Charles d'Artois count of Eu, and Lewis count of Vendôme, were still detained prisoners in England since the battle of Agincourt. The principal officers of Charles were these; the Scottish earl of Buchan, first cousin to James I. of Scotland, was created constable of France after the battle of Baugé; the marechals Fayette and Severac, Andrew Delaval lord of Loheac, John de Harcour count of Aumale, John de la Haye lord of Colonge, Culant, who was afterwards high admiral, Aymer viscount of Narbonne, Pothon de Xaintrailles, Stephen de Lahire, called otherwise Vignoles, and Graville; and lastly, the Bastard of Orleans, who had just begun to signalize himself by his exploits. The chief personages of his

his court, were first the queen, Mary of Anjou, a princess of exceeding beauty and extraordinary merit; though Charles, in other respects an accomplished prince, neglected her charms for the prosecution of less honourable amours: her mother Yolande of Arragon queen of Sicily, who had acquired great reputation for virtue and capacity: Tannegui de Chatel was the principal favourite of Charles; he was the assassin of the duke of Burgundy, and the person who advised that treacherous expedient, in other respects a faithful adherent and sage counsellor: Louvet, president of Provence, superintended the finances, a very insolent and rapacious minister, who always preferred his own interest to that of his master: La Tremouille maintained the third rank at the court of Charles: and of inferior consideration, were De Giac and Le Camus de Beau lieu, who sheltered themselves under the credit of Louvet.

Among the partisans and officers of Henry, he that filled the first place, was the duke of Bedford regent of France, one of the most accomplished princes in Europe either for the field or cabinet; and infinitely superior in merit to all the other persons employed in the service. He was assisted in France by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Arundel, Sir John Fastolfe, Talbot, and other officers of distinguished valour and conduct. Besides these, the duke of Burgundy had three generals, who, as they served the same interest, deserve to be mentioned among the English, on account of the gallant exploits they performed. These were John of Luxembourg, count de Ligny, son of Valeran de Luxembourg constable of France; l'Isle d'Adam marechal of France, who had been confined to the Bastile by Henry V. and lately released by the duke of Bedford; and Toulongeon, commonly called the marechal of Burgundy,

Account of
the principal
adherents of
Henry.

Hist. de Ch.
VII.

A.C. 1422

gundy. The young king's court in England, consisted of Humphry duke of Gloucester, who equalled his brother Bedford in valour and capacity, but fell short of him in temper and moderation; he was brave, learned, open, affable, and liberal, but so proud and passionate, that his enemies found it an easy task to effect his disgrace and destruction: Thomas Beaufort duke of Exeter: his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, whose character we have already described: their nephew, the earl of Somerset: Richard duke of York, son of Richard earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded at Southampton, and grandson of Edmund de Langley duke of York; a prince who afterwards claimed the crown as heir of Mortimer: Humphrey earl of Strafford, son of Anne of Gloucester, daughter to the unfortunate duke, whom Richard II. caused to be murdered at Calais: Henry earl of Essex, uterine brother to the earl of Strafford, and married to the duke of York's sister Isabel: Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, allied to the royal family by his marriage with Jane Beaufort, sister to the duke of Exeter and the bishop of Winchester: Thomas Courtney earl of Devonshire, married to the sister of the earl of Somerset: Henry Talbot, who had espoused the sister of the earl of Essex; Henry Holland earl of Huntingdon, descended from an uterine sister of Richard II, Henry Piercy earl of Northumberland, and John Fitzallen earl of Arundel, who married princesses of the house of Marche.

Progress of the duke of Bedford, regent of France. He concludes a treaty with the duke of Brittany.

After the death of Charles VI. which happened on the twenty-first day of October, the season would not permit the troops on either side to undertake any action of great importance, except the siege of St. Valery, which was surrendered to the English on capitulation. Bussi in the county of Guise, was likewise taken by the count de Ligni, general of the Burgundians, while Jaque de Harcour and

Lahire

Lahire reduced La Rue in Picardy, and Vitry in Champagne, to the dominion of Charles. The duke of Bedford, in pursuance of the plan which his brother Henry had projected, resolved to subdue all the places possessed by Charles on this side the Loire; and while he was employed in making preparations for executing this plan, Graville, one of the officers of Charles, surprised Meulan by scalade, on the fourth day of January. As this place was situated within six leagues of Paris, and the reduction of it under his eye an insult offered to his arms, he determined to begin the campaign with the siege of it, which he accordingly undertook in person in the beginning of February. Charles ordered the count d'Aumale to join the Scottish auxiliaries under general Stuart, and march to its relief; but these officers disputing the chief command with each other, parted without having undertaken any thing in favour of Meulan, which Graville was obliged to surrender on capitulation. After the reduction of this place, the regent repaired to Amiens, where he had an interview with the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, which last, together with his brother the count de Richemont, signed a league and confederacy against Charles; and this alliance was cemented by a marriage between Bedford and Anne sister of the duke of Burgundy; while the count de Richemont married an elder sister of the same prince, who was widow of the dauphin Lewis. The duke of Bedford consummated his marriage at Troye; and in his way to Paris with his young consort, took Pont-sur-Seine by assault. In the meantime the earl of Salisbury, being appointed governor of Champagne and Brie, invested the strong castle of Montaigne; and leaving the earl of Suffolk to command the blockade of that fortress, undertook in person the siege of Vertus, Sesanne, and Epernay, which he reduced without difficulty.

A. C. 1423.

Act. Pub.

A. C. 1423.

The French
and Scots
are defeated
at Crevant.

While he was engaged in these operations, Charles ordered Tannegui de Chatel to march to the relief of Montaign; but Salisbury, being apprised of his intent, joined Suffolk with such expedition, that the French general was almost surprised, and retreated into Burgundy. whither he was pursued by the English forces. Salisbury finding he could not overtake the French, invested Crevant, a strong place situated upon the Yonne, about three leagues above Auxerre. Charles then commanded Stuart to withdraw some troops from the neighbouring garrisons, and join Châtel, in order to attempt the relief of the town. All these forces when joined amounted to ten thousand, of which the marechal de Severac took the command; but before the junction was effected, Salisbury had made himself master of Crevant, and returned to the siege of Montaign. Tho' the French army could not prevent the reduction of Crevant, they resolved to retake it immediately, and marched thither with all expedition. The dutchess dowager of Burgundy being then at Dijon, ordered the marechal Toulon-geon to assemble the militia and gentlemen of that neighbourhood; and desired the earl of Salisbury to join them with his forces, and attempt to raise the siege. That nobleman complied with her request, and set out for Auxerre, at the head of six thousand chosen troops; there, joining the Burgundians, they directed their route to Crevant; and the army of Charles, being apprised of their march, took post upon a mountain, from whence they could not easily be dislodged. The English and Burgundians made a feint, as if they had intended to pass the river Yonne at Cologne-le-Vimeux; upon which the French quitted the ground; and posted themselves on the bank of the river, in order to dispute the passage. The two armies faced one another for two hours on different sides of the

river, till at length, a body of English, passing by a bridge, maintained their ground against the efforts of the whole French army, until all their countrymen, and the Burgundians had made their passage good. Then they attacked in their turn, with such impetuosity, that the marechal de St. Severac could not sustain the assault, but retired, with his French forces, leaving the Scots under Stuart to bear the brunt of the whole battle. They fought, for a considerable time, with great obstinacy, until they were overpowered, and obliged to quit the field with the loss of twelve hundred men, who were killed upon the spot, or taken prisoners. Stuart and Xaintrailles, with about forty officers of distinction, fell into the hands of the English, who did not obtain a bloodless victory; for above four hundred of their best men lost their lives in the engagement; and among these Sir John Grey, Sir William Kalk, Sir Gilbert Haffel, and Richard ap Madoc.

A. C. 1423.

Monstrelet.

After this victory, the earl of Salisbury returned to the blockade of Montaign, the garrison of which being, by this time, reduced to twenty men, capitulated; and he ordered the fortifications to be razed. Then he divided his forces with the earl of Suffolk, who made himself master of Macon, while Salisbury finished the conquest of Champagne; from whence he marched into the Isle of France, where he reduced Coucy, and some other castles. During these transactions, the regent ordered Ralph de Boutieller to besiege Crotoy in Picardy, situated on the Somme, opposite to St. Valery, and commanded by Jaques de Harcour, who, after having made a gallant defence, agreed to surrender by the first of March, if not relieved before that time; and, as Charles made no attempt in his favour, he surrendered accordingly to the duke of Bedford. Tho' Charles was but very ill supplied with

The earl of Salisbury finishes the conquest of Champagne.

A. C. 1423. money, he payed the ransom of Xaintrailles, who no sooner recovered his liberty, than he found means to surprize Ham and Guise, while La Hire took Compeigne in the same manner: but all these places were immediately retaken by the troops of the regent and the duke of Burgundy. About this period, Charles received a reinforcement of a thousand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from Philip Maria Visconti duke of Milan; and these troops entering the Bajolois, not only prevented the town of la Bouffiere from falling into the hands of Toulangeon, but also surprized that general, who was taken prisoner, with seven hundred men, whom he had brought to take possession of the fortress, according to capitulation; but he was immediately exchanged for Stuart, who had been taken at Crevant.

A body of English, under John de la Pole, worsted at Graville.

This small advantage was followed by another of greater consequence to Charles. John de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, with a body of troops drawn from different garrisons, had fallen into Anjou, where he burned the suburbs of Angers, and obtained a considerable booty: but, in his return to Normandy, he was intercepted by the count d'Aumale, the young duke of Alençon, Loheac, Coutonge, and the bastard of Alençon, who had assembled a strong body of troops to cut off his retreat. They came up with him at Graville in Le Maine, where, after an obstinate dispute, he was defeated, and taken prisoner, and fourteen hundred of his men killed on the field of battle. This victory revived the hopes of Charles, which the battle of Crevant had well nigh extinguished; and, what inspired him with fresh confidence, was the arrival of five thousand men, whom the earl of Buchan, at this period, brought from Scotland, under the command of Archibald earl of Douglas, one of the most renowned warriors of the age.

Charles receives a reinforcement of five thousand Scots, commanded by the earl of Douglas. Mezerai.

These succours arrived at Rochelle at a very seasonable juncture for Charles, who caressed the Scottish officers in a very extraordinary manner. Douglas was created duke of Touraine; Stuart honoured with the title of baron d'Aubigny, and afterwards made count d'Evreux: Charles chose a company of Scots for the guard of his own person, as a mark of his confidence and esteem. To crown this succession of favourable events, the count de Richemont being affronted by the regent, who refused to trust him with the command of the army, resolved to detach his brother, the duke of Brittany, from the English interest; and, by the mediation of the duke of Savoy, a truce was concluded between Charles and the duke of Burgundy, for the Lionnois and Burgundy, which, as well as the neighbouring provinces of France, were terribly distressed by the interruption of commerce.

While France was thus exposed to all the miseries of war, England enjoyed the most profound tranquility. The parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, a new council was appointed for the government of the realm, by the intrigues of the bishop of Winchester, who having quarrelled with the duke of Gloucester, raised an opposition in parliament, with a view to curb the protector's powers, by enlarging those of the council, which were accordingly augmented. This affair being settled, the ministry laid before both houses, the state of a negotiation with the Scots, touching the ransom of king James; and the parliament approved of the steps that had been taken. A law was enacted against the exportation of gold and silver out of the kingdom, except what was barely necessary for the payment of the troops in France; and a subsidy was granted for the maintenance of the war in that country.

Proceedings
in the par-
liament of
England.

A. C. 1423.

James king
of Scotland
is set at li-
berty.

The duke of Gloucester and the council perceiv-
ing, that the Scottish nation adopted other maxims
than those they had pursued under the regency of
the late duke of Albany; and that they exerted
themselves in behalf of the French king, with a
spirit that seemed to be the result of their resenting
their own king's captivity, resolved in good earnest,
to set James at liberty, on such conditions as would
attach him to the interest of England. His sub-
jects were extremely desirous of seeing him return,
and take the administration of the realm from Mur-
doc duke of Albany, who was a weak prince, with-
out resolution or authority; and several negotia-
tions had been set on foot for the release of their
lawful sovereign: but hitherto they had proved in-
effectual, because the English thought it their in-
terest to detain him in their power; supposing, that
while he remained in captivity, his subjects would
take no material steps to the prejudice of England.
By this time, however, they had found themselves
mistaken in their conjecture, and saw no expedient
so likely to put an end to the alliance between France
and Scotland, as that of dismissing king James in
terms of friendship with England. Safe-conducts
were granted to the Scottish commissioners to come
to London, in order to treat about their king's de-
liverance; and the bishops of Durham and Wor-
cester, the earls of Northumberland and Westmore-
land, the lords Nevil, Cornwall, and Chaworth,
were appointed as deputies to discuss the articles.
They were empowered, by their instructions, to
consent to the release of James, on condition, that
he should pay forty thousand marks for the expence
of his maintenance during his captivity in England;
and that he should conclude a truce with Henry,
during which, the two kings should not assist the
enemies of each other. They were likewise desired
to insinuate, that this peace might be happily ce-
mented

mented by a marriage between the king of Scotland, and some English lady of the blood-royal. The first conference was held at York, when the plenipotentiaries agreed upon the articles of the king's release; and, in the second at London, they regulated the manner in which the sum should be payed, together with the quality of the hostages to be left by way of security. There too, it was stipulated, that the king of Scotland should espouse Jane of Somerset, sister to the duke of that name, and niece to the duke of Exeter and bishop of Winchester; and that Henry's council should abate ten thousand marks of the sum, in consideration of this marriage. Then the commissioners of both nations signed a truce for seven years, by which James engaged to recal his troops from France before the month of May next ensuing; though he could not answer for their obedience. This treaty was confirmed by the parliament, which was prorogued from December to January; and James, after a captivity of seventeen years, returned to his own country.

A. C. 1423.

AG. Pub.

The war in France was still maintained with various success; and the regent exerted all his activity and conduct in attempting to clear the northern provinces of the troops and adherents of Charles; but he found this a very difficult task; for he had no sooner reduced one place by force, than the enemy took another by surprize; so that his labour seemed to be endless and ineffectual. While he was employed in the reduction of several little castles in the Isle of France, he received intelligence that Giraut, one of the officers of Charles, had surpris'd Ivry, a place of importance, on the frontiers of Normandy; and he forthwith marched thither to retake it, before the French could have time to put it in a proper posture of defence. The siege was undertaken in the beginning of July, and Giraut

The duke of Bedford besieges Ivry.

A. C. 1424.

A. C. 1424. capitulated to surrender, if not relieved by the fifteenth day of August. Charles, being informed of this agreement, resolved to succour the place, tho' at the hazard of a battle; and immediately assembled an army at Le Maine, consisting of twenty thousand men, Scots, French, and Italians. The command naturally belonged to the earl of Buchan, as constable of France; but he yielded that honour to his father-in-law the earl of Douglas, whom Charles constituted his lieutenant-general for the whole kingdom. All the nobility, who adhered to Charles, joined the army on this occasion, in order to signalize their courage; and, on the twelfth day of August, they marched by the walls of Vernueil, which was in possession of the English. Next day they came in sight of the regent's army, which was so strongly intrenched before Ivry, that Douglas deemed the attack impracticable, and marched back to Vernueil, which surrendered on the first summons, supposing that the English army was defeated, and the siege of Ivry raised, according to the report of the messenger.

Marches
against the
enemy.

The earl of Salisbury being apprised of the enemy's march, hastened to the regent with a reinforcement of a thousand men at arms, and two thousand archers, which augmented the number of the English to thirteen thousand veterans, who were more than a match for the like number of any troops in Europe. Ivry was surrendered at the appointed time, according to the capitulation; and next day the duke of Bedford marched towards Vernueil, in order to bring the enemy to a battle. He halted at the distance of a league from their camp, and sent an herald with a defiance, and a particular message to Douglas, importing, that he was come to dine with him: To this the other replied, that he should be welcome, and find the cloth ready laid. The regent, instead of proceeding to the attack,

tack, pitched upon a convenient spot for a field of battle, flanked by a hill, on which he posted two thousand archers; and he provided his foldiers with sharp stakes, like those that were used at Agincourt, to resist the French cavalry, among which he knew there was a great number of young noblemen, who would not fail to attack him on the ground he had chosen for his own advantage: nor was he mistaken in his notion of that headstrong impetuosity, by which the French had lost so many decisive battles. Douglas having, in person, observed the English camp, assembled a council of war, and represented, that as the duke of Bedford had chosen his own ground, where he could not be attacked without manifest disadvantage, their business was to maintain their post, and not hazard a battle, in which the king's interest must run an unnecessary risque.

This salutary advice, which the constable, and all the officers of experience, approved, was vehemently opposed by Aymer viscount of Narbonne, who treated it as the effect of timidity, and declaimed upon the glory of France, and the disgrace that would be entailed upon the arms of the king, should they avoid an engagement, when they were so superior to the enemy in number. He was seconded by all the young nobility; and the council was filled with tumult and debate: at length this rash, unthinking nobleman, exclaimed, "Let those who love the king follow me!" then, rushing from the council, attended by those who espoused his opinion, he drew up his men in order of battle, and commanded them to display his banner. Douglas and the constable finding all their remonstrances ineffectual, and their authority despised, resolved to do their utmost endeavours to support those headstrong adventurers; or, if that should prove ineffectual, to wash out, with their own

The enemy
totally de-
feated at
Vernueil.

A. C. 1424. own blood, the stain which had been so unjustly thrown upon their honour. With this view they endeavoured to form their troops; but the viscount of Narbonne, and his associates, had already begun their career, and the rest of the army followed them in such a tumultuous manner, that it was found impossible to bring them under any regularity of rank or discipline, while the two chiefs were hurried along with the multitude. By that time the English camp appeared in view, their breath and spirits were almost exhausted; and here the generals made another effort to reduce them to order, by exhorting them to halt, and recover breath before they should begin the battle: but they still lent a deaf ear to all their entreaties; and the French and Scots vied with each other, in rushing foremost to the scene of their destruction. The Italians having received a shower of arrows from the English archers that flanked them upon the hill, betook themselves to flight in the very beginning of the onset; but the rest of the army charged with incredible impetuosity, so far as to disorder one of the wings of the English. They even broke through them as far as a barricade formed in the rear with the waggons of the army, behind which was posted a body of archers that received them with a terrible discharge. When they wheeled, in order to attack these bowmen on the flanks, they found them defended by their stakes, in such a manner, that they could make no impression; while they themselves were so exposed to the flights of arrows, that few or none of them escaped with life from this encounter. Mean while, the main bodies of both armies fought with such equal fury and resolution, that, for three hours, it was impossible to discern any advantage on either side; at length, the English body of reserve, which had defeated the Italian men at arms and French cavalry, fell upon the flank of the Scots,

Scots, and decided the fortune of the day. Douglas and the constable seeing their overthrow inevitable, scorned to outlive the disaster, and, rushing into the hottest part of the battle, fell in the midst of their enemies. This was likewise the fate of the indiscreet Narbonne, Ventadour, Graville, and Rambouillet. The other principal officers were so grievously wounded, that they could no longer act; so that the men, being deprived of their leaders, fought at random, until they were routed and dispersed with great slaughter. The Italians, who had quitted the field in the beginning of the engagement, being informed that the French had the advantage, returned for their share of the plunder, and were received by the victorious English in such a manner, that not a man would have escaped alive, had not they been favoured by the night. Five thousand Scots and French were left dead upon the field of battle, and a great number was wounded and taken; among others, the marechal de la Fayette and Gaucour; and the young duke of Alençon, being found still breathing, was cherished with such care by the regent, that he recovered of his wounds, which were extremely dangerous. This victory, though of infinite importance to the regent, was not purchased cheaply; inasmuch as he lost seventeen hundred of his best men, who fell in the field; and, among these, some officers of distinction. Next day the duke of Bedford invested Vernueil, the garrison of which was commanded by Rambure, who, being but very ill provided with necessaries, surrendered in three days on capitulation. In this place the English found all the baggage belonging to the French, Scottish, and Italian generals, together with the money destined for the pay of the soldiers; and, meeting with the corpse of the viscount Narbonne, on the way to interment, they seized and hung it on a gibbet,

Stowe.
Gaguin.

A. C. 1424. gibbet, because that nobleman had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy.

Dispute between the dukes of Brabant and Gloucester about Jaquelina dutcheſs of Hainault.

After the victory at Vernueil, the duke of Bedford returned to Paris to quell an insurrection which had been in that city, on the supposition that he would be defeated; while the earl of Salisbury reduced the city of Mans, St. Susanne, and Laferté Bernard, and finished the conquest of Le Maine. All the places that favoured Charles were now filled with consternation; and all his friends began to despair of his cause. He himself, tho' a prince of great vivacity and perseverance, would in all probability have yielded to the torrent of misfortune, had not the approach of winter afforded him some respite from the pursuit of his enemies. But even the winter would not have prevented his ruin, if another unexpected event had not intervened. This was no other than a quarrel between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester, which without all question preserved the crown of France to the house of Valois. We have already observed that the duke of Gloucester had married Jaquelina, heiress of Hainault, even during the life of her other husband the duke of Brabant, who was first cousin to the duke of Burgundy. This last prince foreseeing that such a marriage would be productive of animosity and war between the two husbands, had a conference on this subject with the duke of Bedford at Amiens, and afterwards another at Paris, where they agreed in opinion, that the affair ought to be left to the decision of the pope, who was the natural judge in all such causes. The duke of Brabant assented to the proposal, in full confidence that his holiness would see no cause to annul his marriage with Jaquelina; but the duke of Gloucester refused his assent for the same reason, tho' he professed himself inclined to a reasonable accommodation.

The

The affair continued in suspense till the battle of Vernueil; after which the duke of Gloucester crossed the sea to Calais, with his wife, and a body of five thousand men, to wrest Jaquelina's dominions from the hands of the duke of Brabant. His design was altogether a secret to the duke of Burgundy, who believed he was come to reinforce the regent; he was therefore not a little surprised when he heard, during his residence at Dijon, that the duke of Gloucester had traversed part of his dominions; and that all the towns of Hainault had submitted and taken the oath of allegiance to him and Jaquelina. He forthwith ordered his generals Ligni and l'Isle Adam to assemble an army, and join the count of St. Pol, who was employed at Brussels in raising forces for the service of his brother the duke of Brabant. How unseasonable for England this rupture with the duke of Burgundy must have been, will appear, when we observe that the affairs of Charles were at this juncture in a desperate condition. The battles of Crevant and Vernueil had deprived him of his best troops and generals. He was without money and credit, utterly incapable of bringing an army into the field. The dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the most powerful vassals of his crown, were intimately connected with the English. His brother-in-law the king of Sicily had lost Le Maine, and could hardly preserve his other dominions; and the king of Scotland, the ancient ally of France, was by his truce with England hindered from supplying him with a reinforcement. Reduced to this melancholy situation, he saw himself repulsed to the other side of the Loire, and in imminent danger of being hunted out of the provinces of Berry, Languedoc, and Dauphiné: the English gave him no other title than that of count of Ponthieu, or king of Bourges, in derision. The duke of Bedford

A. C. 1424
Gloucester
invades
Hainault.

A. C. 1424. ford was sensible of all his advantages, and knew that if his brother Gloucester would have, at this critical period, joined him with the forces and money he had brought to Calais, the conquest of France would have been finished in one campaign.

A. C. 1425. He wrote to him on this subject, conjuring him to postpone his designs against the duke of Brabant, until he could be supported with the united strength of France and England. But his remonstrances had no weight with Gloucester, who could not be prevailed upon to let slip this opportunity of making himself master of the four fairest provinces in the Low Countries. The regent, on account of this unlucky diversion, could draw no new reinforcement from England; and his army being almost wholly divided among a great number of castles and towns, which he was obliged to garrison, he found himself disabled from prosecuting his conquests.

Accepts a
challenge
from the
duke of
Burgundy.

In the orders which the duke of Burgundy issued to his generals for levying troops in favour of his kinsman the duke of Brabant, he declared that this prince had agreed to the expedient proposed, with the consent of the duke of Bedford; and that Gloucester had rejected the equitable proposal. Humphrey, incensed at this assertion, wrote a letter to him from Mons, in which he taxed him with having advanced what was not strictly conformable to truth. The duke of Burgundy, in his answer, gave him the lie, and offered to maintain his assertion in single combat, to be judged by his own brother the duke of Bedford. Gloucester accepted the challenge; the festival of St. George was fixed for the day of trial; and in the mean time, these two princes insulted each other in the most outrageous manner, both by letters and messages. In this interval, the count of St. Pol besieged and took the little town of Braine in Hainault; putting the Eng-
lish

lish garrison to the sword, notwithstanding the capitulation, and then reduced the place to ashes. Nevertheless, as the quarrel between the dukes of Gloucester and Brabant might be terminated by the combat between Humphrey and the duke of Burgundy, they agreed to a truce until that affair should be decided; and Gloucester returned to England. He would have carried his dutchess along with him, had not the inhabitants of Mons desired, with the most earnest intreaties, that she might be permitted to remain in that city. He could not resist their pressing solicitations; but he exacted a solemn oath of the magistrates, that they would defend her at the hazard of their lives against all her enemies.

Monstrablet.

Charles, in order to make his advantage of these dissensions, endeavoured to detach the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne from the interest of the English. He knew that the count de Richemont was incensed against the duke of Bedford, who had refused to confer upon him the command of the army: he was well acquainted with the pride and vanity of that nobleman; and these, by proper emissaries, he flattered in such a manner, that the count agreed to accept of the constable's office, vacant since the death of Buchan; and even undertook to bring over his brother the duke of Bretagne to the interest of Charles, provided that prince would banish Louvet from his councils, and procure the consent of the duke of Burgundy to his engaging in the king's service. Charles accordingly declared him constable of France, as the duke did not object to this promotion; but that prince, tho' irritated against the duke of Gloucester, and the English in general, had not so entirely forgot his father's assassination, as to listen to the proposals of the king, who had sent the bishops of Puy and Chartres, to detach him, if possible, from the interest of Henry. They endeavoured to excuse Charles

The count de Richemont is created constable of France;

A. C. 1425. Charles with regard to his father's death, by saying he was misled by evil counsellors; and the duke took this opportunity to tell them, that when his majesty should have banished those evil counsellors from his presence, it would then be a proper time to talk of an accommodation. These were Tannegui de Chatel and Louvet, who still maintained the foremost place in his favour. The first being apprized of the duke's declaration, insisted upon being dismissed from the service. Charles granted his request with reluctance: but the other was not so honest as to sacrifice his own private advantage to his master's interest. He not only enjoyed a large share of his sovereign's favour; but his credit was corroborated by the influence of his daughter, married to the lord of Joyeuse, who, with the famous Agnes Sorel, divided the affection of Charles. Louvet thus supported, set the new constable at defiance; and the court was immediately split into two factions, which greatly obstructed their sovereign's interest. Charles himself espoused the cause of Louvet; but the nobility adhered to the constable; and when he retired from court in disgust, declaring he would never return while his antagonist should retain his office, they withdrew to their respective countries, and the king found himself almost totally abandoned. Then he was obliged to sacrifice his minister, and make concessions to the constable, who not only resumed his place, but also performed his promise, in bringing over his brother the duke of Bretagne, who did homage at Saumur.

and his brother the duke of Brittany declares for Charles.

Hist. de Cha. VII.

The duke of Bedford returns to London, to mediate a quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester.

The court of Henry was as much disturbed by faction as that of Charles. The duke of Gloucester, and his uncle the bishop of Winchester, hated each other with implacable rancour. That prelate had opposed with all his might the expedition to Hainault; though the duke's interest prevailed in the council: but, in the absence of Gloucester, the

the other acquired such influence, that when he returned, the bishop's credit seemed to preponderate. Their quarrel was immediately revived, and broke out in divers tumults and frays between their partisans. The bishop wrote a letter to the duke of Bedford, intreating him in the most earnest manner to return and reform the abuses occasioned by his brother's misconduct; and Gloucester drew up articles of impeachment, to be presented against Winchester at the ensuing parliament. The duke of Bedford, finding his presence absolutely necessary in England, left the command of the army in France to the earl of Warwick, and arrived on the twentieth day of December in England, where he was received by the council and the nation, in quality of protector. In a few days after his return, he explained the state of affairs in France to the council; and, in particular, expatiated on the infidelity of the count de Richemont, and his brother the duke of Brittany, against whom war was declared by public proclamation, on the fifteenth day of January. The next affair which engrossed the attention of the protector, was the quarrel between his brother and uncle, which he employed all his influence to accommodate. He convoked an assembly of the nobles at St. Alban's, that they might assist him in mediating a reconciliation, which was so necessary towards the preservation of the public peace; but all their endeavours proving ineffectual, the dispute was referred to the decision of parliament, which was already summoned to meet in March at Leicester. There the duke of Gloucester exhibited his articles of impeachment, which being examined by a committee, appeared frivolous; and the bishop was acquitted. Then the parliament exhorted both parties to lay aside their mutual animosity; and they embraced each other with exterior marks of perfect reconciliation, while their

A.C. 1423.

Rymer.

A.C. 1426.

A. C. 1426. hearts rankled with revenge. The duke of Bedford, who supposed this accommodation would not last, and foresaw that a division in the council would be very prejudicial to the king's affairs, prevailed upon his uncle to resign the great seal, which was given to the bishop of London, and to accompany him in his next voyage to France, on pretence of fulfilling a vow; in consideration of which concessions, the duke promised to solicit a cardinal's hat in his favour, which was afterwards actually obtained. In this session, which was denominated the parliament of Batts, because the followers of the members being prohibited from carrying arms, provided themselves with clubs and staves, the necessary supplies were voted for the maintenance of the war with France; a statute was enacted against the exportation of sheep, without the king's licence; and other regulations were made for the encouragement of agriculture, and maintaining the liberty of the subject. The protector restored to John Mowbray, earl mareschal, the title of duke of Norfolk, which he had lost in the reign of Richard II. and created forty knights, at the head of whom was the duke of York, heir of blood to Mortimer earl of March, who had lately died in Ireland without issue.

Aff. Pub.

The constable of France disgraced at St. James de Beuvron.

During these transactions in England, the constable Richemont assembled an army of twenty thousand men in Brittany; and entering Normandy, made himself master of Pontorson about the latter end of February: then he undertook the siege of St. James de Beuvron, where was a numerous garrison of English troops, which defended it with extraordinary valour. He expected a supply of money from De Giac, who had succeeded Louvet in the management of the finances; but that minister fearing he would become intolerably insolent, and govern the court according to his own fancy,

should

should he succeed in this enterprize, resolved to disappoint him in his expectation. The constable seeing his army diminish every day by desertion, conceived the most violent indignation against De Giac, and became almost frantic with the apprehension of being disgraced in his first military undertaking. At length, being alarmed with a false report that the enemies were on their march to the relief of the place, he resolved to give the assault, though the breach was hardly practicable; and detached two thousand men upon the road to Avranche, in order to keep the English in play, should they come up during the attack. This disposition being made, he stormed the breach with great fury; but met with such a warm reception, that there was very little appearance of his carrying the place by assault. The detachment seeing no enemy approaching, deserted their post, and returned to the camp, with a view to share in the glory and spoils of the day; and they came on in such confusion, that the assailants concluded they were repulsed by the English army, and were instantly seized with consternation. They forthwith quitted the assault; and such was the panic which prevailed among them, that all the constable's endeavours could not bring them back to the charge. The besieged perceiving their disorder, made a furious sally, and fell among them with such impetuosity, that they fled with precipitation, leaving their baggage and artillery in the hands of the English.

Richemont was infinitely mortified at this disgrace, and so exasperated against De Giac, to whom he imputed the disaster, that he vowed revenge against him, and executed it with the first opportunity. Having rallied his forces, he fell into Anjou, where he reduced La Fleche and Gallerande; and the campaign being ended, returned to court, where he caused De Giac to be strangled in his bed

He assassinates the ministers De Giac and Beaulieu.

A. C. 1426. and thrown into the Loire ; and publicly declared he would treat in the same manner, any man who should presume to engross the king's favour. Accordingly the Camus of Beaulieu, who ventured to accept of the place vacated by the death of De Giac was in a few days assassinated in the king's palace by the direction of this ferocious constable, who would suffer none to reside at court but such as depended entirely on his favour. Charles was so incensed at his insolence and presumption, that he not only refused to see him, but even trembled with rage when his name was mentioned ; nevertheless, such was the desperate situation of his affairs, that he had no other resource but his army of Bretons, and was therefore obliged to keep terms with Richemont.

The English are
worked at
the siege of
Montargis.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the English troops in the absence of the regent, was so weakened by the duke of Gloucester's war in Hainault, that he had not forces sufficient to take the field against the constable; but now that the troops of Britany were diminished by desertion, and the court of Charles was embroiled with dissensions, he assembled a body of five thousand men ; and, after having retaken some castles in Le Maine, which had fallen into the hands of the Bretons, he undertook the siege of Montargis, a place of great importance, situated on the river Loin, where it divides into three branches. His army being too inconsiderable to attack the town in form, he converted the siege into a blockade, and of consequence divided his forces into three bodies, separated by the branches of the river, over which, however, he threw wooden bridges of communication. These different divisions were commanded by himself, the earl of Suffolk, and John de la Pole, brother to that nobleman. The blockade had already continued three months, and the besieged were reduced to extremity,

tremity, when Charles desired the constable to attempt their relief; but his army being by this time disbanded, he would not expose himself to another disgrace with raw troops occasionally raised. What he declined was undertaken by the Bastard of Orleans, who, though no more than two and twenty years of age, had already given repeated proofs of extraordinary courage and conduct. He assembled about sixteen hundred men, and confidently marched towards Montargis, upon an enterprize of the utmost difficulty, to be atchieved against the earl of Warwick, whose reputation was equal to that of the greatest generals. The besieged had by this time opened their sluices, so as to overflow the bridges of communication between the English quarters; and the bastard resolved to attack them separately before the water should subside. He gave one half of his troops to Lahire, with orders to attack the quarter of De la Pole, while he himself charged the earl of Suffolk. After an obstinate engagement the earl and his brother were defeated, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, the greater part of whom was drowned in the river; and the earl of Warwick, finding it impossible to give them any assistance, retired in good order. The place was immediately relieved; and this exploit was considered as an happy omen of the bastard's future success: but this advantage was followed by no other operation of consequence; for both sides were so weak, that they thought proper to act on the defensive only.

Mezerai.
Monstrelet.

The duel between the dukes of Gloucester and Burgundy had been put off by common consent; and in the mean time this last employed his emissaries among the people of Hainault, in order to form a party that should deliver Jaquelina into the hands of her lawful husband the duke of Brabant. These negotiations being assisted by the princess's own mother, who was biassed in favour of Burgundy,

Jaquelina
betrayed at
Mons, and
escapes to
Holland.

A. C. 1426. were attended with such success, that all of a sudden the towns of Hainault declared for the duke of Brabant; and his brother, the count of St. Pol, presented himself at the head of an army before Mons, where the dutchess resided. The magistrates, feigning the utmost terror at his approach, declared themselves altogether incapable of defending the town, and entered into a treaty with him, by which it was stipulated that Jaqueline should be delivered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, who would take charge of her person until the dispute could be terminated by the pope's decision. She was accordingly conducted to Ghent by the prince of Orange; and all the dutchy of Hainault unanimously acknowledged the duke of Brabant for their sovereign. The dutchess was extremely mortified at this treatment, and in letters to the duke of Gloucester, complained of having been villainously betrayed; but upon recollection she dissembled her chagrin, and even affected to wait the pope's sentence with cheerful resignation. Her keepers, deceived by this appearance of good humour, relaxed in their vigilance; so that she found means to escape in disguise to Holland, where she was cordially received by some noblemen, while others declared for the duke of Burgundy, who began a war on her account that lasted two years without intermission.

Monstrelet.

A. C. 1427.

A civil war among the courtiers of Charles.

The war in France still languished, for want of men on both sides to undertake any enterprize of importance. The earl of Suffolk was surprised in Mans by the count d'Orval of the house of Albret, and obliged to take refuge in a tower, from whence he was delivered by the gallantry of Talbot, who expelled the French in his turn; and after having taken Laval in Maine, joined the earl of Warwick, in order to carry on the siege of Pontorson, which had been reduced by the constable during the course of the preceding year. About this period the duke

of

of Bedford arrived in France, with a reinforcement of troops that enabled him to execute schemes of importance. He was accompanied by the bishop of Winchester, who received the cardinal's hat at Calais with great solemnity; and, as being a prince of the blood, was afterwards distinguished by the name of Cardinal of England: in a little time after this promotion he was appointed the pope's legate in this kingdom; an office which enabled him to improve his wealth and influence, to the prejudice and ruin of his enemy the duke of Gloucester. Mean while the court of Charles was more and more distracted by dissensions of the ministers and nobility. La Tremouille had now engrossed the king's favour; and though he had formerly professed friendship for the constable, he no sooner succeeded Beaulieu in the management of the finances, than he changed his conduct towards Richemont, and fomented the king's aversion to that nobleman. The other courtiers were incensed at his behaviour, on the supposition that there was no other person but the constable who could re-establish the affairs of France; and they entered into a conspiracy against the life of the minister. The counts of Clermont and La Marche were at the head of this association, and assembled a body of forces, with which they endeavoured to surprise him at Bourges; but notwithstanding that he had followed the king to Loches, they resolved to seize his two creatures La Borde and De Prie, who fled for refuge into the great tower, which was immediately invested. De Prie was killed fighting in his own defence, but the other held out until he was relieved by the king in person. This quarrel degenerated into a civil war which raged several months, and was at last terminated by the mediation of the duke of Alençon, who had been taken at the battle of Verneuil, and lately ransomed for two hundred

A. C. 1427. thousand crowns, a sum he could not raise without selling all his jewels, together with the town of Fougères to the duke of Brittany: but by this time the constable had retired in disgust to Vannes, and Charles had very little reason to hope for a continuation of his service and good offices.

Mezerai.

The duke of Brittany obliged to renounce the party of Charles,

The deplorable condition of Charles, destitute of forces, officers, and money, and embroiled in those domestic disquiets, furnished the regent with an opportunity to execute a scheme he had projected in England. Pontorson having surrendered after a long siege, he took the field in person, at the head of twenty thousand men, in order to fall upon Brittany, which he threatened with ruin and desolation. Whether the sovereign of that country was actually intimidated by the regent's menaces, or glad of a pretence for abandoning a sinking cause, which he espoused merely out of complaisance to his brother Richemont, he sent ambassadors to the duke of Bedford, soliciting peace on his own terms; and it was granted on condition of his swearing to observe the peace of Troye, and to do homage to young Henry whenever it should be required. The duke of Brittany was agreeably surprised at this moderation of the regent, which he had no reason to expect; and Bedford was pleased with an opportunity to detach, by fair means, such a powerful ally from the interest of Charles.

Act. Pub.

Gloucester abandons Jaqueline, and marries Eleanor Cobham his own concubine.

While these revolutions happened in France, Jaqueline finding herself involved in a war with the duke of Burgundy, solicited the duke of Gloucester for succours; and that prince, with the assistance of parliament, sent over a small reinforcement of troops, who immediately after their landing were defeated by the Burgundians. At length, by the intercession of the regent, the design of the duel was laid aside, and a truce concluded, during which Gloucester was prevailed upon to leave his dispute

dispute with the duke of Brabant to the pope's determination. His holiness, in a little time after this reference, published his sentence, by which he annulled and dissolved the marriage between Jaquelina and the duke of Gloucester, and confirmed her former contract with the duke of Brabant, who did not long survive this arbitration. Upon the death of that prince, who was succeeded by his brother the count of St. Pol, Jaquelina ought to have retaken possession of her own territories; but the intrigues of the duke of Burgundy had such an effect upon her subjects, that they refused to acknowledge her for their sovereign; and the duke being chosen umpire between her and them, obliged her to put the government of her dominions into his hands, to constitute him her heir, and oblige herself to pass the rest of her days in a state of widowhood. The duke of Gloucester acquiesced in the sentence of the pope; and though in all probability he would have revived his pretensions upon the death of the duke of Brabant, if the lady had been left unengaged, he was persuaded by his brother to desist from his claim, which, if pursued, would prove prejudicial to king Henry, by alienating the duke of Burgundy from his interest. Gloucester suffered himself to be persuaded, and abandoning Jaquelina, married Eleanor Cobham, whom he had long maintained as his concubine.

The war of Hainault being thus determined, all the strength of England was united for the conquest of France, which seemed the more easy as Charles had not one body of troops in the field, and had lately given himself up to the pleasures of indolence, as if he had laid aside all thoughts of opposing the progress of the enemy. The earl of Warwick had returned to England, where he was appointed governor to the king in the room of the duke of Exeter lately deceased; and the earl of Salisbury arrived

A. C. 1428
The earl of Salisbury undertakes the siege of Orleans.

A. C. 1428. rived in France with a body of five thousand men, whom he had raised at his own expence in England, in consequence of a convention with the council. As soon as he brought that reinforcement to Paris, the regent bestowed upon him the command of an army amounting to sixteen thousand men, in order to reduce all the places that were possessed by Charles on this side the Loire, and to drive him entirely out of the northern provinces. He began his march towards the Loire, accompanied by the earl of Suffolk, by Talbot, Fastolfe, and several other officers of distinction, and in a council of war resolved to undertake the siege of Orleans; though this resolution was taken without the knowledge and contrary to the opinion of the duke of Bedford. As it was necessary to reduce the neighbouring places, from which they might have been incommoded in the siege, the months of August and September were spent in subduing Jenville, Mehun, Baugenci, Gergeau, Clery, Sully, and other small places; and at length they appeared before Orleans on the twelfth day of October. Charles perceiving the intention of the English, had supplied the place with great store of provision, ammunition, and a numerous garrison, commanded by Gaucour, although he was at that time a prisoner with the English, released on parole to raise the money for his ransom; and the Bastard of Orleans, with D'Orval, Lahire, Xaintrailles, Thouars, Bouffac, Chabannes, La Fayette, Graville, and several other officers of distinction, had thrown themselves into the place, to signalize their courage and address.

Is killed by
a cannon
ball.

In order to deprive the town entirely of all possibility of receiving succour, the earl of Salisbury ordered sixty small forts or redoubts to be built around it, of which six were more considerable than the rest, for commanding the principal avenues of the place; and these were supplied with great artillery,
by

by which the walls were incessantly battered. This A. C. 1423. was a place of the utmost consequence to Charles, and as such defended by the garrison with uncommon valour; in a word, both the assailants and defendants seemed to fight for glory more than for any other advantage, and on both sides exploits of gallantry were daily performed. Charles, being destitute of troops and money, could not pretend to raise the siege; but notwithstanding the vigilance of the English, he made a shift to introduce succours from time to time; so that the garrison, which originally consisted of twelve hundred men, was, by the latter end of December, augmented to three thousand; and the number of the besiegers increased to three and twenty thousand, by the reinforcements they received from the regent. The bulwark of Tournelle being damaged by the cannon of the besiegers, was set on fire by the defendants; but the flames were extinguished by the English, who made a lodgment in that post, and at the same time took the tower of the bridge, from whence they overlooked the whole city. In this place the earl of Salisbury was killed by a cannon ball, while he stood observing the posture of the enemy at a window: but his death did not one moment interrupt the siege, which was carried on with the same vigour under the direction of the earl of Suffolk, assisted by the renowned Talbot, one of the greatest captains whom that age produced.

Rymer.

Four months had already been spent in continual sallies and attacks, when the regent ordered a convoy of salt-fish to set out from Paris for the use of the besiegers, in Lent, guarded by seventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Fastolfe, an officer of approved valour and experience. Charles, receiving intelligence of the day on which he intended to begin his march, ordered the count de Clermont to attack him with three thousand

The French defeated in the battle of Herrings by Sir John Fastolfe.

men

A.C. 1428. men on the road to Orleans; and that nobleman executed his orders on the twelfth day of February at Rouvray St. Denis. Fastolfe, being apprised of his approach, drew up his men behind a barricade of waggons, where they sustained the first shock of the enemy, who attacked them with their usual impetuosity; but, far from breaking through the retrenchment, they met with such a warm reception, as threw them into confusion; and the English commander seeing their disorder, caused openings to be made in his barricado, through which his men charged the enemy before they could rally, and routed them with great carnage. In this action, which was denominated the battle of Herrings, one hundred and twenty noblemen or officers of distinction lost their lives, besides a great number of common soldiers; but the Bastard of Orleans, who had joined Clermont on this occasion, retreated to the town with four hundred men in good order.

Monstrelet,
Mezerai.

The maid of
Orleans
makes her
appearance
at the
French
court.

Charles was so disheartened at this overthrow, that he began to look upon his affairs as desperate; but that he might not be wanting to his own interest, in neglecting any step that might contribute towards the preservation of Orleans, he sent Xaintrailles to the regent at Paris, to propose that the city might be deposited in the hands of the duke of Burgundy, until the war should be finished. This proposal being rejected by the duke of Bedford, the French king had actually determined to retire into Dauphiné, when his affairs were restored by a very surprising revolution. About the latter end of February, a country wench called Joan of Arc, native of the village of Danremy in Lorraine, addressed herself to Robert de Baudricourt governor of Vau-couleurs; and affirmed that she had a commission from heaven to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct Charles to Rheims, where he should be anointed and consecrated. Robert sent this dam-
fel

fel to the king at Chinon. Whether ſhe was really a viſionary, who thought herſelf actuated by divine inſpiration, or only uſed as an inſtrument for the execution of a ſcheme which the court had contrived to revive the ſpirits of the French, broken by ſo many repeated defeats, certain it is, ſhe was received as ſomething ſupernatural. She diſcovered the king, whom ſhe had never ſeen before, in ſpite of a diſguiſe he had aſſumed to deceive her; and the doctors of theology being ordered to examine her, declared that her vocation was altogether miraculous. The parliament of Poitiers, after the like enquiry, eſpouſed the ſame opinion; and the king gave out that ſhe had explained to him certain ſecrets, which ſhe could not poſſibly know but by divine revelation. By theſe means every body was prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Maiden; and the people in general believed ſhe was expreſſly ſent of God for the ſalvation of the kingdom. Hitherto the ſcheme, as in all probability it was, ſucceeded to the wiſh of the projector. Joan of Arc was looked upon with adoration; and the French troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour, under the auſpices of this female champion. She was certainly endowed with the courage and addreſs of an amazon, and her natural intrepidity was flattered by the arts of ſuperſtition; ſo that ſhe was wrought up to a degree of enthuſiaſm that overlooked every ſpecies of danger. She aſſumed the habit and armour of a man, and was furniſhed with a ſword from the tomb of a renowned knight, in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois.

The French ſoldiery being thus animated, Charles ſent a convoy towards Orleans, guarded by a ſtrong body of troops, whom the Maiden had aſſured of ſucceſs; and when they approached the gate of Burgundy, the Baſtard made a ſally to favour their entrance: a long and obſtinate engagement ensued;

She compels
the Engliſh
to raiſe the
ſiege.

A. C. 1429. sued; and, the English being defeated, Joan entered Orleans at the head of the convoy, amidst the acclamations of the people, who were now fully satisfied of her divine mission. That this spirit might not be allowed to cool, she, on the fourth day of May, attacked the fort of St. Loup, which was one of those the English had raised for the blockade of the place; and, after a furious dispute of four hours, carried it sword in hand, against a garrison of twelve hundred men, four hundred of whom were killed in the assault. In two days after this action, she proceeded against the fort of St. John, where she met with very little resistance from the English, who had well nigh abandoned it before her approach. Having secured this conquest, she marched immediately against the fort of London, which was the most considerable of the whole number, and took it by storm, after a very obstinate engagement. Without giving her troops the least respite, she led them, that same evening, against the fort of Tournelles; but, for want of day-light, was obliged to postpone the attack till next morning, when she began the assault, which continued fourteen hours without intermission. The French were repulsed four times, and as often led back to the charge by Joan in person, notwithstanding her being shot with an arrow between the neck and the shoulder; at length the fort was taken, and six hundred of the garrison cut in pieces.

The English
defeated at
Patay.

Such a series of success, evidently owing to the valour of this virago, who was extolled as an apostle from heaven, produced universal consternation among the English. Though they did not believe the divinity of her mission, they conceived a notion rather more absurd, and supposed that she acted by compact with the devil. The loss of so many forts, and the dejection of the soldiers, rendering it impossible to carry on the operations of
the

the siege, the earl of Suffolk abandoned the enter-
 prize, after having lain seven months before the
 place, and retired in disorder, not without consi-
 derable loss from the besieged, who now pursued
 them, in their turn, though greatly inferior in
 number. Such a panic prevailed among the Eng-
 lish, that they were afraid of facing those troops
 whom they had so often defeated, and so lately de-
 spised. The very generals were stupified with ter-
 ror; for, instead of keeping their forces together
 in a body, until they should have recollected them-
 selves from this infatuation, they distributed great
 part of the army in places near the Loire, which
 they had reduced before they undertook the siege
 of Orleans, and retreated with the rest to a great
 distance: so that the enemy had leisure to retake
 the towns and fortresses which they had thus garri-
 soned. The earl of Suffolk had imprudently
 thrown himself, with four hundred men only, into
 Gergeau, where he was made prisoner; and all the
 other places but Baugency, were again brought
 under the dominion of Charles, who now resolved
 to go and be consecrated at Rheims, though that
 city was still in the hands of the English. This
 expedition, however, he would not undertake until
 he should have made himself master of Baugency,
 which he immediately invested; and, while em-
 ployed in this siege, he was joined by the constable
 of Richemont, who, hearing of his success, laid
 aside his resentment, and raised twelve hundred
 horse, and as many thousand infantry, in Bretagne,
 for his service.

The place being reduced, Charles, by the advice
 of his council, marched into Beauce against the re-
 mainder of the English troops, amounting to six
 thousand men, encamped near Patay, under the
 conduct of Talbot, who had succeeded to the com-
 mand after the disaster of Suffolk. The French
 came

Charles is
 consecrated
 at Rheims.

A. C. 1429. came upon them so suddenly, that they scarce had time to be formed. When they were charged, such was their panic and confusion, that the greater part fled without making the least resistance; and Sir John Fastolfe himself was hurried away in the midst of the fugitives. The lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, maintained the battle with great valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and two thousand of their men lay dead on the field of battle: then they were obliged to yield to the fortune of the day, and were taken prisoners, together with Sir Thomas Rempston, and other officers of distinction. Jenville, a strong place in the neighbourhood of Patay, garrisoned with English troops, surrendered to the victors without resistance; and all the castles, that held for Henry, about Orleans, were abandoned by the defendants, who retired towards Paris. The miscarriage before Orleans, and their defeat, were so fatal to the English interest, that the duke of Bedford was obliged to confine himself within the walls of the capital; while the affairs of Charles assumed a most flourishing aspect. His brother-in-law Lewis III. duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, joined him with a reinforcement of soldiers, and some excellent officers, whom he had lately brought back from Italy; so that, when he reviewed his army at Gien, it amounted to fifteen thousand fighting men, five of which he sent off in two detachments; one under the constable, to make a diversion in Normandy; and the other to carry the war into the heart of Guienne, under the conduct of the count de Perdriac. The king himself, at the head of the remaining ten thousand, began his march for Rheims; and in his route, received the submission of Troye and Chalons, while the inhabitants of Auxerre promised to follow the example of the principal towns of Champagne. Those of Rheims expelled the English

Monfieur.

English garrison, and sent deputies with their keys to the king, who entered the city in triumph, and was consecrated with great solemnity. When the ceremony was performed, the Maid of Orleans desired permission to retire, alledging that she had now accomplished the end of her calling; but the king pressed her so earnestly to stay, that she at length complied with his request.

A. C. 1429.

Mezerai.

During this surprising revolution in the affairs of Charles, the court of Henry in England was again embroiled by a revival of the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of England. This prelate was now become more insolent than ever, since his elevation; and the duke, in order to mortify his pride, would not allow him to officiate at the festival of St. George, patron of the order of the garter, though prelate of the order, in quality of bishop of Winchester. The duke affirmed, that he could not perform the functions of cardinal and bishop, without the express permission of his majesty; and this being the opinion of the council, two noblemen were sent to give him notice, that he should desist from acting as bishop of Winchester. Next day, he appeared at council, and desired to know for what reason he was deprived of his right; but, the council gave him to understand, that his acting in such a double capacity would prejudice the prerogative of the crown; and they persisted in their resolution. This was a sensible mortification to the cardinal, as it afforded matter of triumph to his adversary; but he was soon consoled for the disgrace, by a bull from the pope, appointing him legate for Germany, and general of a crusade against the Bohemian heretics, who were distinguished by the appellation of Hussites. He no sooner received this commission, than he solicited the council for leave to raise five hundred lances, and as many thousand archers for that service; and his request being granted under certain restrictions, he began

Henry is crowned at Westminster.

Act Pub.

A. C. 1429 his levies with equal diligence and success. In the mean time the news of the battle of Patay arriving in England, the council immediately ordered new levies to be raised under the command of Radcliffe; but, as these could not be assembled so soon as succours were required in France, they made a new convention with the cardinal, who engaged to serve with his troops in France, under the duke of Bedford, till the end of December, on condition that they should not be employed in any siege. In a few days after this contract, Garter king at arms arrived with letters from the regent, pressing the council to send over a reinforcement with all possible dispatch, and desiring that the king might go over and be consecrated at Paris. Henry was now about eight years of age, and his council agreed to the expediency of his going thither; but at the same time resolved that he should be first crowned king of England. This ceremony was accordingly performed on the sixth day of November; and then the parliament, which was assembled on the occasion, decreed that the dignity of protector should be suppressed, and the duke of Gloucester be thenceforward distinguished by the name of King's first counsellor.

Rymet.

Success of
Charles,
who makes
an attempt
upon the city
of Paris.

While the English council was thus employed, the duke of Bedford repaired to Picardy, in order to make draughts from garrisons, and wait for the succours from England; while Soissons, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Crepi, and some other places, submitted to Charles. The regent having received the reinforcement levied by the cardinal, marched towards Crepi, in order to give the French king battle; and, in a few days, the two armies came in sight of each other in a large plain, where Bedford, who had few horse, chose an advantageous situation, in hope of being attacked by the French impetuosity, to which he had owed his success at Verneuil. But, for once he was disappointed.

Charles

Charles, grown wise by experience, forbore to attack him within his lines; but, after having tried in vain to provoke the English to forego the advantage of the situation, he decamped, in order to continue his conquests; and the regent, who followed him in hope of finding an opportunity to fight with a fair prospect of success, had the mortification to see him admitted into Senlis, Beauvais, and seven or eight other places of importance from which the English garrisons had been withdrawn. What augmented his chagrin was, the success of the constable de Richemont, who had been detached into Normandy, where having increased his forces to the number of eight thousand men, he reduced Evreux, and threatened to desolate the whole province. The duke dreading the loss of a country from whence he drew the greatest part of his subsistence, marched thither with the utmost expedition, and drove the constable out of that duchy; but, in his absence, Charles made an attempt upon the city of Paris. He encamped on Montmartre, and published an amnesty in favour of the Parisians, who he hoped would have expelled the English forces, and submitted: but, the regent had taken such wise precautions, that his declaration produced no effect. Then he ordered the suburbs of St. Honoré to be attacked; but the troops were repulsed with great loss, and the Maid of Orleans being wounded, was overturned in the ditch, where she lay supposed to be dead, until she was brought off in the night, and found alive. After this unsuccessful assault, Charles retired to Bourges, where he passed the winter; and the regent returned to Paris, from which, during the severe season, he sent out detachments, which took St. Denys and Lagny by scalade.

Montfretet,

The turn of affairs in France filled England with murmurs and discontent. Some accused the generals of having neglected their duty; and others af-

Duke of
Bourbon
dies in
London.

A. C. 1429. firmed, that this alteration was produced by the machination of the devil, who made use of Joan of Arc as the instrument of his malice : but, there was a third set, who imputed the misfortunes of the English to the misconduct of the king's council ; and in particular, to the ambition of the duke of Gloucester, who had undertaken a war in Hainault for his own private advantage, at a time when, if the whole strength of England had been united, the entire conquest of France might have been easily completed. There were not wanting a fourth species of politicians, who affirmed that the council had acted with imprudence in detaining so long the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon prisoners in England. They observed that the late king had derived great advantages from the divisions of the French princes ; that therefore the prisoners ought to have been sent back to their own country, where, in all likelihood, they would have revived their antient quarrels ; whereas, by their detention in England, France enjoyed a kind of tranquility which enabled it to unite against the common enemy ; that, if the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon had been in France, the duke of Burgundy would certainly have brought a greater number of troops into the field than he had hitherto furnished ; and that their ransom would serve at least to recruit the finances of England, which were almost exhausted. This last argument had such weight with the council, that nothing but the express desire of the late king could have prevented them from practising the expedient ; at length they thought themselves at liberty to dispense with that restriction in favour of the duke of Bourbon, who by a private contract with Henry, had engaged to swear to the peace of Troye, to pay a certain sum by way of ransom, and to deliver two of his sons and fortresses, as hostages for the performance of his promise. Though Henry V. died before this treaty could be executed, it had been

renewed with some alteration; and young Henry had, as king of France, received the duke's homage. The treaty was ratified; but, some intervening obstacles prevented the duke's release; and, after a captivity of eighteen years, he died at last a prisoner in England. The council was the more disposed to this accommodation, as it would have afforded a fund to defray the expence of the king's voyage to France; but this resource failing, they practised another shift that answered the purpose. All persons possessing forty pounds a year in land were summoned to receive the honour of knighthood; the jewels of the crown were pawned, and sums of money borrowed from towns, corporations, and individuals: the cardinal, by whom he was attended, advanced above nine thousand pounds upon the occasion. By means of this supply, the king was attended in his voyage by a considerable body of forces; but the English in general were so possessed with dreadful notions of Joan's enchantments, that many officers and soldiers deserted before their embarkation; and a great number of those who crossed the sea, being intimidated by the accounts they heard of her exploits, withdrew privately from their colours, and returned to England.

Henry arrived about the latter end of April at Calais, from whence he repaired to Rouen, where he passed the summer, while the regent was employed in making preparations for the ceremony of his consecration at Paris, which was performed on the seventeenth day of December. During the king's residence at Rouen, the duke of Bedford, suspecting that the duke of Burgundy began to listen to the solicitations of those agents who were incessantly employed by Charles to detach him from the interest of England, thought proper to engage him more strongly in the alliance, at the expence of

Henry is
consecrated
at Paris.

A. C. 1430. all the places the English possessed in Champagne and Brie, which he ceded to that prince, in order to strengthen the connexion. What likewise contributed to retain him the longer in his English engagements, was his third marriage with Isabel of Portugal, who was nearly related to Henry. These motives induced the duke to supply the regent with a reinforcement, which enabled him to take the field, and reduce some places in the isle of France, by which the Parisians had been very much incommoded.

Joan of Arc
taken in a
sally from
Compeigne.

Burgundy in person entered France at the head of a powerful army, with which he reduced Torfy and Soissons, and then undertook the siege of Compeigne, defended by Flavy, with a numerous garrison, well provided with stores and ammunition. At the first report of this enterprize, the Maid of Orleans and Xaintrailles threw themselves into the place, to the no small mortification of the governor, who could not bear the thought of losing any part of the glory that might be acquired in the defence. On the twenty-fifth day of May, Joan made a sally, and fought with her usual intrepidity; but being obliged to retire, placed herself in the rear, to amuse the enemy until her troops should make good their retreat. Having performed this service effectually, she attempted to follow them into the city, and found the gates shut and the bridge drawn up, by order of the governor, who is said to have shut her out knowingly, that she might fall into the hands of the besiegers. Finding it impossible to escape, she surrendered to the Bastard of Vendome, who delivered her immediately to the count de Ligny, the Burgundian general. The regent was no sooner informed of her being taken, than he purchased her of the count for a very valuable consideration. When the place was reduced to extremity it was succoured by the
count

count de Vendome, with a considerable reinforcement of troops, provision, and ammunition; so that the count de Ligny, seeing no prospect of succeeding, raised the siege, and the duke of Burgundy retired from Noyon into the Artois.

A. C. 1430.

Joan of Arc had introduced such a spirit of superstition, both among French and English, that the best officers of both armies were misled by the most blind credulity. It appears from the regent's letter to the king, after the siege of Orleans was raised, that he believed the Maid to be an enchantress inspired by the devil; and an accident that happened at this juncture, plainly proves that the French generals imagined the cause of Charles was espoused by a particular providence. A shepherd in the neighbourhood of Rouen, addressing himself to the marechal de Bouffac, assured him, that by virtue of a revelation from heaven, he could conduct him through a secret path into the very heart of Rouen; and the marechal communicating the proposal to Xaintrailles, they agreed to embrace the opportunity which was offered by Providence. Having therefore assembled a body of chosen troops, they followed the shepherd, who conducted them into an ambuscade formed by Talbot, who destroyed the greater part of their forces, and took Xaintrailles prisoner.

Xaintrailles
taken prisoner
by
Talbot.

Mean while the duke of Gloucester, in England, taking advantage of the cardinal's absence, declared in the council that Winchester intended to quit the king, whom he had accompanied to France, and return to England to excite fresh troubles in this kingdom, as well as to avail himself of the pope's authority for dissolving his engagement to serve against the French king. This remonstrance met with such credit, that the council published a proclamation, forbidding all his majesty's subjects, of what rank and condition soever they might be, on pain

Monstrelet.

Dissension
continued
between
Gloucester
and the cardinal.

A. C. 1430. of imprisonment, to accompany the cardinal, should
 Rymer. he leave the king without the royal permission. On
 the back of this transaction a truce for one year was
 concluded with the king of Castile ; and another for
 five years with Scotland, signed at Edinburgh by
 the English ambassadors.

The maid
 of Orleans
 burned for
 heresy.

The maid of Orleans having remained in custody
 since the siege of Compeigne, king Henry, by the
 advice of his council of France, sent her to Rouen to
 be tried for witchcraft ; and after a long examina-
 tion, the ecclesiastical judges condemned her, as an
 heretic, to do penance all the rest of her life on bread
 and water. Some time after this sentence was pro-
 nounced, the same judges, on pretence of her having
 relapsed into her former errors, delivered her over
 to the secular arm to be burned alive ; and this sen-
 tence was executed upon her in the old market-
 place of Rouen, on the thirtieth day of May. She
 appeared upon her trial to be a weak enthu-
 siast ; and in all probability her life would have
 been saved, had not the regent thought it absolute-
 ly necessary to convince the soldiers, by her death
 and public execution, of the falsity of the reports
 which had represented her as a messenger from
 God, and an agent of the devil ; reports which they
 could no longer believe, after having seen how un-
 able she was to elude the penalties of justice. What-
 ever were his motives, his conduct cannot be justly
 extolled, for having sacrificed to his policy, revenge,
 or superstition, a poor illiterate maiden, who was
 intitled to the regard of every generous mind,
 for the surprising efforts she made in behalf of her
 country.

Hist. de Ch.
 VII.

Dispute
 about the
 succession to
 Lorraine.

The fate of Joan was very prejudicial to the af-
 fairs of Charles, for the reasons we have already
 mentioned ; and that prince was in such distress
 for want of money, that he could not maintain an
 army in the field. Henry was nearly in the same
 situation ;

situation; for his French subjects were exhausted, as well as generally disaffected to his government; and the people of England were by this time heartily tired of a ruinous war, which afforded no prospect of a termination. This being the case on both sides, the war was maintained in petty incursions, and little stratagems for the surprisal of towns and fortresses. The French made themselves masters of Chartres by means of a waggon loaded with wine, which was overturned under the portcullis. The English on the other hand surprised Montargis, by carrying on a correspondence with a damsel of the town, who prevailed upon her lover, a barber, to give them admittance. Charles was concerned in another dispute, besides that which subsisted between him and Henry. René, second son of Lewis II. king of Sicily, and duke of Anjou, having succeeded to the duchy of Bar, by the death of his uncle the cardinal de Bar, and marquis of Pont-a-Mousson, wanted to establish himself also in possession of Lorraine, on the demise of the duke his father-in-law. But the succession was disputed with him by Anthony, count de Vaudemont, son of Frederic the younger brother of duke Charles. This contest produced a war, in which the French king supported the party of René, who was his brother-in-law, while that of his competitor was espoused by the duke of Burgundy. On the second day of July, the two princes meeting at Bulegneville, a bloody battle ensued, in which René was vanquished, taken, and conducted to Dijon; and twelve hundred French troops being killed in this engagement, Charles was disabled from attempting any thing of consequence against the English.

Hist. de
Lorraine.

While Henry resided in France, pope Eugenius II. sent thither the cardinal of Santa Cruz to persuade the two kings to an accommodation; and that legate prevailed upon them to send ambassadors to Auxerre,

Henry re-
turns to
England.

A. C. 1431. Auxerre, where, however, the conferences were not opened, because the English would not own the plenipotentiaries of Charles for the ambassadors of France. Notwithstanding this miscarriage, the cardinal continued his good offices, and another day was appointed for their meeting again in the succeeding year; but they could not agree upon the place, and the negotiation miscarried. Henry quitting Paris immediately after Christmas, retired to Rouen as a place of greater safety: though it was very near being surprised by the treachery of one Peter Audebeauf, a native of Bearne, retained in the English service, who introduced an hundred and twenty men, commanded by one Recarville, into the great tower of the castle. To support these, a larger body of troops had advanced within a league of the place; but the officers, quarrelling among themselves about the manner of sharing the booty which they hoped to obtain, confusion ensued, and the whole number returned to Beauvais. Those who had been admitted into the tower were obliged to surrender at discretion; and Henry's governors, alarmed at this attempt, conveyed him immediately to his English dominions, where the animosity between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal still glowed with unabating rancour.

A. C. 1432.

The cardinal's interest in parliament surmounts the influence of the duke of Gloucester.

In the parliament of the preceding year, the bishop found means to engage the house of commons in his interest, so as to obtain a triumph over his adversary, who had endeavoured to do him ill offices in his absence. They had presented an address to his majesty, desiring, that in consideration of the great services the cardinal had done the state, he would grant an amnesty in his favour, for every thing he might have transacted contrary to the laws, particularly to the statutes of premunire. Notwithstanding this address, with which his majesty complied, the duke of Gloucester would not relinquish the

the pursuit. He pretended he had proofs in his hands sufficient to convict the cardinal of high treason; a crime which could not be implied in the pardon he had received. Winchester, who was at that time in Flanders transacting the king's affairs, returned to London, without having demanded permission; and the duke made this a pretext for seizing his baggage. Next day the cardinal went to the house of lords, where he declared he was come to justify his conduct, and prove his innocence against any person who should charge him with delinquency. As Gloucester did not think proper to maintain what he had advanced, he was acknowledged as a faithful subject, by an authentic act passed at his earnest desire. Then he complained that his baggage had been seized at Sandwich, and demanded restitution. He offered to deposit six thousand pounds in the king's hands for six years; and if in that time the baggage should appear to have been lawfully seized, the money should be confiscated for the use of his majesty. He likewise offered to lend him as much more, and postpone the demand of thirteen thousand marks already due to him, on condition that the payment of the whole should be assigned to him on the first subsidy that should be granted. His proposals were accepted, and his effects restored; and the duke of Gloucester, far from being able to injure his character, saw him triumph over his resentment in the applause of both houses of parliament.

England was more attentive to the contest between these two ambitious rivals, than to the war of France, which they seemed almost to have forgot; though the present juncture afforded them a fair opportunity to repair the losses they had sustained, and retrieve the credit of their arms. Charles gave himself up to the delights of indolence, in the embraces of Agnes Sorel, and left the care of his most important

Factions in
the court of
Charles.

A. C. 1432. tant affairs to his ministers and generals. His favourite La Tremouille was accused of encouraging him in this habit of idleness and indifference ; but this was not the case. Charles began to be disgusted with this minister, and grow uneasy under the yoke he had imposed. The constable being informed by his emissaries at court, of this alienation, resolved to re-act the tragedy of Louvet, De Giac, and Beaulieu ; and having secured the interest of the courtiers, who hated the minister, he caused him to be apprehended in his bed, at Chinon, within the king's palace, and conveyed to prison at Montresor. Charles was equally surprised and incensed at this outrage, which he swore he would revenge upon the constable : but, when he heard all the princes of the blood, and all the nobles of his court, declare against La Tremouille, he checked his indignation. He remembered with fear the league which had been formed against him in the case of Louvet, and the disgust he had begun to conceive for the minister, enabled him to give him up with the less reluctance. Charles of Anjou, the queen's brother, consoled him for his loss ; and, according to the constable's plan, became the chief favourite.

The war
carried on
with various
success.

One may easily conceive that a prince of this character could not have been a formidable enemy to Bedford, had this last been properly supplied with reinforcements from England. But for some time these had been entirely interrupted ; so, that he could not keep the field without unfurnishing the places of their garrisons, and leaving them at liberty to declare for Charles. In the beginning of the year, Bedford detached the earl of Arundel and the marechal de l'Isle Adam, to besiege Lagin, in the neighbourhood of Paris, which had been lately surprised by Foucaut ; but the garrison made such a vigorous sally, that they were obliged to abandon the enterprize. In the month of August, the re-
gent

gent undertook the siege of it in person, with an army of six thousand men; but, in spite of his vigilance and precaution, the Bastard of Orleans introduced a convoy into the place; and the duke fearing he carried on some intelligence with the Parisians, suddenly raised the siege and returned to the capital. A small body of French forces, drawn from different garrisons, surprised the town of Montargis; but the castle defended itself so vigorously, that they were obliged to abandon their conquest. In Normandy twelve hundred English troops invested Lahire in Louviers; and, after a blockade of three months, obliged him to capitulate.

These were events of little consequence, in comparison with that which happened on the thirteenth day of November. This was the death of Anne of Burgundy dutchess of Bedford, which not only affected her husband in particular, but also the whole English nation, as it entirely broke that bond of connection which had united the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy; and the mutual resentment which succeeded their union was fatal to the interest of England. In the beginning of the year, there was a dangerous insurrection of the peasants in Normandy, who, taking arms to the number of sixty thousand, two thirds of these proceeded to the Vexin; and the other body of twenty thousand marched to Caen, which they took, together with Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebonne. The earl of Arundel was no sooner apprised of the insurrection, than he marched against those who were assembled at the Vexin; and charging them in the night, obtained an easy victory. Those in Caen might have been more troublesome, as they were headed by the marechal de Rieux; but they were so intimidated by the defeat of their companions, that the greatest part of them dispersed to their own habitations. The marechal, with some of the most courageous, threw himself

Quarrel between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy.

A. C. 1433.

into

A. C. 1433. into Dieppe, which, together with Harfleur, remained in possession of the French king, though Arundel reduced Caen and Lillebonne. In the course of this year, the duke of Bedford married Jaquelin of Luxembourg, daughter of James count of St. Pol; a match that gave great umbrage to the duke of Burgundy, who not only looked upon it as an insult to the memory of his sister so lately deceased, but also resented the regent's marrying the daughter of his vassal, without his consent or knowledge. The cardinal of England endeavoured to repair this breach, and mediate a reconciliation. He succeeded so far as to obtain their mutual consent to an interview at St. Omer, where all differences might be amicably adjusted; but when they repaired to this place, a fresh dispute ensued about rank and precedence. Neither would yield in point of punctilio; and they parted, more than ever incensed against each other. In all probability the duke of Burgundy had already determined to abandon the English interest, and used this trivial dispute as a pretence for breaking with the regent: though he resolved to have it in his power to make his own terms with Charles; and for that purpose persisted in his hostilities. He made himself master of St. Valery, Ham, Laon, and Provins; and the earl of Arundel besieged and took Silley-le-Guil-laume, in the province of Le Maine.

The two
kings agree
to a congress
at Arras.

By this time the council of England were become more desirous of peace, than of engaging in any new measures for retrieving what the king had lost in France. The duke of Orleans, who still continued a prisoner at London, had offered to employ all his influence in forwarding a treaty, on which all his hope of liberty depended. He proposed that the queen dowager of Sicily, her son Charles of Anjou, the duke of Brittany, with his brothers the counts of Richemont and of St. Gilles, the duke

A. C. 1433.

duke of Alençon, the counts of Armagnac, Foix, Perdriac, Clermont, and the archbishop of Paris, should meet the plenipotentiaries of England at Calais, or any other place pitched upon by the English council; and he desired permission to assist at the congress, in order to enforce the negotiation. At the same time he presented a set of articles, which were so favourable for England, that the council embraced his proposal, without hesitation; and he signed, sealed, and swore to the performance of the treaty which he had planned. Passports ^{Rymers} were expedited for the queen dowager of Sicily, and the other persons named in his proposal; the month of October was fixed for the time of the conferences; and the council appointed commissioners to treat with the plenipotentiaries of Charles. The duke of Orleans acted on this occasion in concert with the court of France, whose aim was to dupe the council of England. The articles of a separate peace between Charles and the duke of Burgundy were already adjusted, by the means of the constable of Richemont, who had conferred with the duke at Nevers, on pretence of accommodating a difference between that prince and the count de Clermont; and nothing was wanting but an opportunity to finish and confirm the treaty. For this purpose they projected the plan of a congress for a general peace, well knowing that the English would reject the conditions that would be proposed; and their refusal would furnish the duke with a pretext for concluding a separate accommodation. This was the true motive of the magnificent offers made by the duke of Orleans to the king of England, in case the conferences should prove ineffectual. They knew nothing was so likely to engage Henry's council in the negotiation, as the hope of its producing something advantageous to England, even though it should not succeed; and

A. C. 1434.

A.C. 1434 and the duke of Bedford, as well as the council, being utterly ignorant of what had passed between the duke of Burgundy and Charles, were the more easily caught in the snare. As soon as they had consented to the congress, the duke of Burgundy, who still maintained the appearance of union with the English, managed matters in such a manner, that instead of Calais they fixed upon Arras for the place of congress, to which all the parties concerned agreed to send their ambassadors.

The earl of Arundel is defeated and mortally wounded.

Mean while the war degenerated into petty excursions : both kings were too weak to send armies into the field ; and therefore nothing of moment was transacted. The French having surprised Rue in Picardy, the earl of Arundel resolved to retake the place ; but understanding on his march, that the enemy had fortified Herberoi near Beauvais, he judged it expedient to drive them thence before the works could be brought to perfection, and sat down before the town. Receiving intelligence that Vignoles and Xaintrailles advanced with twelve hundred men to its relief, he raised the siege, and gave them battle. In this action, which was extremely obstinate, he was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and in a few days died, to the unspeakable regret of the duke of Bedford. The count de Clermont, now become duke of Bourbon by the death of his father, made himself master of Corbeil and Brie-Comté-Robert, by bribing the governors ; and a Scottish officer surprised Vincennes, which, however, he could not maintain. At length Talbot, arriving from England with a reinforcement of three or four thousand men, to whom he joined some troops drawn from garrisons, became master of the field, and retook a good number of towns, without being interrupted in his progress by the enemy.

Success of Talbot.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon the congress of Arras, to which the pope sent the cardinal de St. a Croce, as his ambassador, while the cardinals of Cyprus and Arles represented the council of Basil. Charles sent thither seventeen plenipotentiaries, at the head of whom was the constable de Richemont; and Henry appointed twenty-seven for France and England, the duke of Burgundy being the principal. Hitherto the regent and the English council were persuaded that the duke acted upon good faith: but they soon received intelligence that he had solicited the pope to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to the late king Henry. Eugenius being questioned on this subject, declared that no French prince had ever made any such demand; and that for the future he would observe such conduct as would be satisfactory to the king of England. The conferences began on the sixth day of August, with the proposals of Charles, whose ambassadors offered to Henry all Normandy and Guienne, on condition that he would renounce his pretensions to the crown of France, and do homage for those two provinces. The English plenipotentiaries, equally surprised and incensed at a proposal so widely different from the articles agreed upon with the duke of Orleans, broke off the conference abruptly, and retired without deigning to make the least reply.

The duke of Burgundy made their sudden departure a pretext for concluding a separate peace. He observed, that he was not obliged to follow their caprice, and gratify their pride, at the expence of his own interest. The pope's legate absolved him of all the oaths he had taken to Henry V. and his successor; and his treaty with Charles was soon ratified, as all the articles had been adjusted before hand. Charles obliged himself by this treaty to ask pardon of Philip, either in person or by his delegates, for the murder of his father, as a crime which had been

Separate
peace be-
tween
Charles and
the duke of
Burgundy.

A. C. 1435. perpetrated in his youth, at the instigation of evil counsellors : to deliver up all the assassins to justice ; to found chapels and masses for the souls of John duke of Burgundy, and his attendants who were killed by his side ; to make good all damages sustained by such as were taken on the day of the murder ; to erect a cross on the place where it was committed, and pay fifty thousand crowns in gold, in lieu of the duke's jewels, which were seized, at his assassination. He agreed to cede to Philip and his heirs the cities and counties of Boulogne-sur-Mer, Macon, St. Jangout, and Auxerre, with all their dependencies, together with all the taxes called aids, imposed on those parts of Macon, Chalons, Autun, and Langres, that lay within Burgundy ; the castles, towns, and districts of Bar-sur-Seine, Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, and all their appendages ; the whole county of Ponthieu, Dourlens, St. Risquier, Crevecour, Arleux, Mortagne, St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, were mortgaged to Philip and his heirs, until four hundred thousand crowns should be paid for their redemption. Philip himself was exempted from doing homage for these territories during the life of Charles, as were his vassals from obeying the summons of Charles, without his order. The French king promised to succour him in case he should be attacked by the English ; and both parties declared they would make no agreement with the enemy, without the consent of each other. The duke's vassals, and others, who had borne St. Andrew's cross, which was the ensign of Burgundy, were exempted from serving under any other ; and a general pardon was granted to all persons except the assassins aforementioned. Both parties renounced all alliances to the prejudice of one another ; and by letters-patent declared their respective subjects absolved from their allegiance to him who should violate this treaty. The princes of the blood in
France,

Monstrelet.

The duke of Bedford dies at Rouen ;

and is succeeded as regent by Richard duke of York.

A. C. 1435. petitioner for that dignity, managed his intrigues in the council with such art, that his patent was not expedited for seven months, during which the partisans of Charles extended their conquests without opposition.

Charles becomes master of Paris.

The English people were exasperated at the defection of the duke of Burgundy, whom they reviled in the most bitter terms of reproach. Nevertheless that prince, in order to preserve some decorum with England, sent over two heralds to Henry, to excuse his having concluded a separate treaty, by declaring his people were no longer able to maintain the war, and to offer his mediation for a peace between France and England. This offer was considered as a fresh insult. The council would not even vouchsafe to answer the letter; and the heralds were not suffered to stir abroad. The populace of London became so outrageous, that they murdered several Flemings, and plundered their houses, until they were suppressed by a proclamation, and protections granted to those who were settled in England. In all likelihood these insults and commotions were far from being disagreeable to the duke of Burgundy, as they furnished him with a pretext for exclaiming against the English, and joining his forces to those of Charles. In the month of March, he sent a reinforcement of five hundred lances to the constable Richemont, who, having made shift to assemble six or seven thousand men, marched directly to Paris, where the emissaries of Charles and the duke of Burgundy had already formed a very considerable party. He soon made himself master of several small places in the neighbourhood of that capital; and then encamped before one of the gates, where continual conferences were carried on between his troops and the citizens, notwithstanding all the precaution that could be taken by Robert lord Willoughby, who commanded
the

Rymer.

A. C. 1436.

the English garrison, amounting to fifteen hundred men. On the thirteenth day of April, the inhabitants suddenly took to their arms, while the marechal L'Isle d'Adam scaled the walls; and when the garrison advanced against the assailants, they were saluted with showers of stones from the windows, while the whole city resounded with repeated acclamations of "Long live the king and the duke of Burgundy." The governor, finding it impossible to resist the torrent, retired to the Bastile; and immediately chains were drawn across the streets to prevent his return. Mean while L'Isle d'Adam opened the gates to the constable, who took possession of the city without opposition. Lord Willoughby, finding the Bastile altogether unprovided for a siege, capitulated on the third day, and marching out with the honours of war, retired to Rouen.

The duke of York, having at length received his commission as regent, landed in Normandy with a good body of troops from England, and retook many small places or castles, which the French had reduced since the death of the duke of Bedford. While he was employed in the conquest of Normandy, he received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy had made great preparations for a siege; and suspecting that his design was to invest Calais, he imparted his conjectures to the council, pressing them to put that place in a proper posture of defence. Before they could take any measures for this purpose, the duke invested the town with an army of fifty thousand men; and this circumstance being known in England, increased the animosity of the nation to a most virulent degree against that prince, whom they reviled as the worst of all apostates. Orders were issued to levy fifteen thousand troops for the relief of the place; and the command of these was given to the duke of Gloucester, while, at the same time, this nobleman and the lord

The duke of Burgundy undertakes the siege of Calais.

A. C. 1436. Beaumont were gratified by Henry with grants of all the territories belonging to the house of Burgundy in France and Flanders. These forces being levied, the duke of Gloucester set sail, and landed with them in Normandy about six weeks after the duke of Burgundy had begun the siege. He had not as yet made much progress in his operations; but on the contrary sustained some checks, which not a little disheartened his Flemish forces. Several vigorous and successful sallies had been made by the garrison. Part of the duke's fleet which blocked up the place by sea, having been left a-ground at low-water, the inhabitants of Calais found means to set the ships on fire, and destroy them intirely; a wooden fort erected by the besiegers, and well supplied with cannon, was taken by the English, and all the Flemings found in it were put to the sword; and lastly, the duke of Gloucester, before he embarked, sent an herald to challenge Burgundy to battle. All these circumstances concurred to intimidate the troops of Flanders, consisting chiefly of raw undisciplined militia; and when they understood that the duke of Gloucester was on his march towards Calais, their whole camp was filled with mutiny and confusion. They struck their tents of their own accord; and, in spite of all the duke's remonstrances and authority, began to retreat in the utmost disorder. He was obliged to follow them to Gravelines, whither they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind their baggage, artillery, and ammunition.

This was not the only mortification that Philip received. He had scarce returned to his dominions, when the towns of Flanders revolted. He himself was dangerously wounded in a sedition at Bruges, after having seen the marechal L'Isle d'Adam cut in pieces by the mutinous populace. Mean while the duke of Gloucester, taking advantage of these commotions,

motions, over-ran Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, from whence he carried off twelve hundred waggons loaded with booty; and from this period the duke of Burgundy was so embroiled in his own affairs, that Charles derived very inconsiderable succours from his alliance; though he had the prospect of being more effectually assisted by James king of Scotland, whose daughter Margaret was in the course of this year married to his son Lewis the dauphin. The truce between England and Scotland had expired, and hostilities were recommenced between the two nations. The earl of Northumberland, with the other lords of the English Marches, invaded Scotland with a strong body of forces, and were encountered by William Douglas earl of Angus, and some other Scottish noblemen, at a place called Poperden, where, after an obstinate engagement, the English were defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed upon the spot, besides four hundred that were taken prisoners. Henry's council had employed all their influence to prevent the match between Margaret and the dauphin, in the way of negotiation; but finding James determined in favour of his French alliance, they fitted out a fleet to intercept the princess in her passage to France; though the Scottish king eluded their vigilance, by sending her with a convoy of forty ships around the western isles, and she landed in safety at Rochelle.

A.C. 14.

Montrelet.

The English are worsted at Poperden in Scotland.

Buchanan.

The ensuing year was remarkable for the death of Jane of Navarre, and Catherine of France, both queen dowagers of England. The former, who was widow of Henry IV. had been suspected of intrigues against the royal family, but lived to get the better of that calumny; and the other, who was relict of Henry V. had, after his death, given her hand to Owen Tudor, a private gentleman of Wales, remarkable for his personal accomplish-

A.C. 1437.

Death of Catherine, widow of Henry V.

ments. This match, so unequal to her rank, and the dignity of her first marriage, gave great disgust to the English nation, and in particular to the duke of Gloucester, who thinking the honour of his family degraded by such an alliance, committed Owen to Newgate, from whence he escaped, and was afterwards slain fighting for the house of Lancaster. By Catherine he had three sons, of whom the eldest, Edmund, was created earl of Richmond; and the son of this nobleman afterwards ascended the throne of England, in right of his mother Margaret, sole daughter and heir of John Beaufort duke of Somerset, and descendant of John of Gaunt. Jaqueline of Luxembourg, widow of John duke of Bedford, followed the example of queen Catherine; and, after her husband's death, married Sir Richard Wodeville, a young soldier of fortune, although she had sworn before king Henry's chancellor of France, and the lord Talbot, that she would never marry without the king's permission; an oath she was obliged to take before she could be confirmed in the possession of some estates bequeathed to her by the regent. Wodeville was mulcted in a thousand pounds for having presumed to espouse her without a licence from his majesty; but in the sequel, he was created earl Rivers, and lost his life upon a scaffold.

Act. Pub.

Proceedings
in parliament.

In a parliament held at Westminster, the duke of Gloucester, as governor of Calais, represented the precarious situation of that fortress, on account of the mutinous disposition of the garrison, which had not for a long time been regularly payed; and he entered a formal protest, importing, that in case the town should be lost by this neglect in the payment of the soldiers, the misfortune should not be imputed to his misconduct. A declaration which induced the parliament to pass an act, empowering the treasurer of England to make good the deficiency

of the customs allotted for this service. Several regulations were made in favour of commerce, which had of late years fallen into decay. They voted funds for the payment of an hundred thousand pounds, which the crown owed; and granted the usual duties on merchandise, which now began to be known by the name of Customs, from their being so often repeated; a tenth and fifteenth were likewise granted, as in the last parliament; and a committee of the lords was empowered to hear and determine all petitions not answered in the course of the session.

Since the arrival of the duke of York in France, the affairs of the English assumed a more favourable aspect in that country. Charles had no considerable army in the field; nor could he expect much assistance from the duke of Burgundy, who had occasion for all his forces to quell the revolt of his own subjects. The beginning of the year was so excessively cold, that the generals of both sides could not undertake any regular operation in the field. Nevertheless, the indefatigable Talbot found means to turn this uncommon rigour of the season to the advantage of his country. He assembled a body of forces, and dressing some of them in white apparel, they crept into the ditch of Pontoise, without being perceived by the garrison, who could not distinguish them from the snow with which the ground was covered. Mean while the rest of the detachment approached the place in the dark, in order to sustain their companions, who applying their scaling ladders, at the time when the garrison relieved the watch at day-break, made their way into the town, and opened the gates for Talbot, who entered the place on one side, while the French fled at the other. The surprize of this important town was a severe blow to Charles; and greatly incommoded the Parisians, who saw the English

Talbot surprises Pontoise, and raises the siege of Cratoy.

A.C. 1437. garrison make daily incursions to the suburbs of their capital. The duke of Burgundy, alarmed at the success of the English, which if not reasonably checked, might produce a revolution that would prove fatal to his interest, resolved to rouse Charles from that lethargy of sloth and indolence which he had hitherto indulged; and gave him to understand, that if he would consult his own glory and advantage, so far as to assemble all his troops, and march at their head towards Paris, in order to drive the English from the heart of the kingdom, he, the duke, would contribute towards his success by making a powerful diversion in Picardy. This remonstrance seemed to wake him from his slumber. He forthwith assembled his forces; and, in his route to Paris, attacked Montereau-faut-Yonne, while the duke of Burgundy undertook the siege of Crotoy, a strong place in Picardy. It was invested by a numerous land-army, while the harbour was blocked up by four large French vessels. The duke of York being at that time recalled to England, through the intrigues of Somerset, detached Talbot to the relief of the besieged, with a body of five thousand men; and that intrepid chief undertook the task, though the Burgundian army amounted to five times the number, and he was obliged to pass the river Somme in the face of the enemy. The duke being informed of his approach, left part of his troops to continue the siege, and with the remainder took post on the side of the river, to dispute the passage of the English, who hated him to such a degree, that no danger could deter them from gratifying their revenge. Talbot profiting by this disposition, was the first man who rushed into the stream, and they followed him with such alacrity, as intimidated the Burgundians on the other side, who believing they were devils rather than men, betook themselves to flight with

with the utmost precipitation; and their panic infecting those who continued in the lines before the town, the whole army dispersed, in spite of all the efforts of their commander. Talbot entered the town in triumph, destroyed the works of the besiegers, reduced five or six places in Picardy, retook Tancarville in Normany, and returned to Rouen, covered with laurels.

Mean while Charles carried on the siege of Montereau, which was bravely defended by Thomas Gerard, though he had not above four hundred men under his command. Hitherto Charles had not greatly distinguished himself by his personal courage; but on this occasion he signalized his valour in a very remarkable manner. He not only exposed himself in the trenches, like the meanest soldier in his army, but, when, after a long siege the place was carried by assault, he was one of the first who entered the breach sword in hand, and fought singly with surprising prowess. The intrepidity of his behaviour in this assault produced a very favourable effect in behalf of his character: and yet he seemed to have exhausted all his vivacity in this effort; for Gerard retiring to the castle, the king relapsed into his former indolence, and left the care and conduct of this second siege to his son the dauphin. The English commander, after having sustained a series of assaults for fifteen days in this fortress, was at length obliged to capitulate. When he appeared in the presence of Lewis, he told him, that against any other besieger he should have made a longer defence; a compliment, which though it agreeably flattered the vanity of that young prince, was extremely mortifying to his father, who, from that day, conceived a jealousy against his son, which was of pernicious consequence. Charles, from Montereau marched to Paris, which he entered in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the

Charles takes Montereau, and enters Paris in triumph.

A. C. 1437. the people; and certainly those expressions of joy were perfectly sincere, as they now saw their native king restored to his capital, after he had remained so long in the power of a triumphant enemy; and found him disposed to forget all the unkindness he had suffered at their hands. He forthwith re-established the parliament and the courts of judicature, and confirmed all the privileges of the city: but this happy calm was of short duration. The resort of multitudes who followed the court to Paris, not only produced a dearth, but likewise introduced a dreadful infection, which raged to such a degree, that the king and royal family were obliged in a few days to abandon the city, which in a little time became desolate; so that the wolves and beasts of prey prowled along the streets, and fed upon the dying and the dead.

P. Daniel.
Monstrelet.

The cardinal's interest
triumphs over
that of
Gloucester.

This tedious war had exhausted England in such a manner, that the council was always ready to listen to any proposals of accommodation; and, as the duke of Orleans saw no other prospect of obtaining his liberty, he became very sincere in his endeavours to promote a pacification. For this purpose, he demanded permission to go to Calais, and confer with the duke of Brittany, whom he looked upon as the most proper person to act the part of mediator. The council would have readily complied with this request, had they believed Charles was disposed to an equitable peace; but, until they should be better informed of his inclination, they did not think proper to make any advances, especially as the duke of Gloucester violently opposed the projected negotiation, on pretence that they could not expect an advantageous peace at such a conjuncture; though his real aim was to thwart the cardinal, who had countenanced the proposal of the duke of Orleans. Not but that this prelate began to gain ground upon his antagonist,
in

in proportion as the king advanced in years. His A. C. 1437 wealth enabled him to accommodate Henry with supplies of money, at a time when assistance of that kind was counted the most essential service that could be done to the state; and the young prince, who was naturally superstitious, had been trained up in the most abject veneration of the clergy. The cardinal did not fail to make use of these advantages, and prepossessed the king's mind so much in his favour, that he granted him a general pardon for all crimes he might have committed, of what nature soever they might be, from the creation of the world down to the twenty-eighth of June in the current year; so that his adversary was totally disabled from prosecuting his revenge.

Rymer.

About this period, James king of Scotland, a prince of truly royal virtues, fell a sacrifice to the ambition of his own uncle Walter earl of Athol, who, with the assistance of a bold outlaw called Græme, broke into the convent of Dominicans at Perth, where the king was lodged, and assassinated him in the night. A young lady of the name of Douglas, who attended the queen, being alarmed with the noise, ran to secure the door of the apartment, and perceiving that the bolt was purposely removed, by some of the domestics who were concerned in the conspiracy, she supplied the want of it with her own arm, which was crushed by the assassins. James, though naked, seized his sword, and bravely defended himself against a great number of foes, some of whom he killed upon the spot, till at length he was overpowered, and fell pierced with eight and twenty wounds, several of which were mortal. Nor should the spirit and affection of his English queen pass unheeded: she interposed between her husband and the swords of the assassins, and received some dangerous wounds in his defence. The tragical fate of James was attended with an advantage to the king of England, who was not only

James king
of Scotland
assassinated.

freed

A. C. 1437. freed from a dangerous neighbour, attached to his enemy of France, but saw him succeeded by an infant, during whose minority the governor of Scotland was influenced by the queen-mother, Henry's kinswoman, and she soon effected a truce for nine years between the two nations. England, as well as France, being afflicted with a pestilence, the war languished for want of reinforcements; and nothing was undertaken on either side of greater importance than some petty siege, or pillaging excursion.

A. C. 1438. The duke of Burgundy, indeed, made a second attempt upon Calais, by cutting a dyke, through which he imagined the town would be suddenly overflowed with water; and he proposed to enter while the inhabitants and garrison should be involved in terror and confusion by such an unexpected calamity: but the experiment did not succeed, and he sat down before Guisnes, from whence he was compelled to retire, by the earl of Huntingdon lately arrived with a reinforcement from England. No other event worth mentioning occurred in the course of this year, except the exchange of the count d'Eu, who had been taken in the battle of Agincourt, for John Beaufort, brother to Henry duke of Somerset, whom he succeeded in that title, though he too died without male issue, and the dukedom devolved upon his fourth brother Edmund, of whom we shall have occasion to say many things in the sequel.

The constable takes Meaux; and Talbot reduces Harfleur.

In the month of March, the constable Richemont assembling a considerable body of troops, invested the city of Meaux, one of the strongest places in France, which had formerly held out seven months against Henry V. It was now defended by the Bastard of Han, an officer of distinguished valour; but, notwithstanding all his vigilance and conduct, the town was, after a siege of three weeks, taken by assault, and the governor made prisoner in
the

the action. The garrison retired into the part called the Market, which is on the other side of the Maine, and broke down the bridge of communication; so that the constable was obliged to begin a new siege more difficult than the former. In the mean time, he ordered the governor to be beheaded, because, though a native of France, he served in the army of England. Then he surrounded his camp with lines of contravallation, strengthened by redouts, to prevent all succour from being thrown into the place; and the king repaired to the siege, that his presence might animate the soldiers to redouble their endeavours. Talbot, notwithstanding all these precautions, resolved to succour the besieged. He marched at the head of a small body of chosen men towards the French lines, and taking by storm one of the redouts that obstructed the passage, entered the place with a convoy. Next day he retired in the same manner, before the enemy had recovered of their consternation, determined to throw in another more considerable supply: but, before this could be prepared, the constable, enraged at the affront he had sustained from such an handful of English, pressed the garrison with such impetuosity and perseverance, as obliged them to capitulate. The success of this enterprize encouraged him to undertake the siege of Avranche, which he had carried on for three weeks, when Talbot, with the troops prepared for the relief of Meaux, forced his lines and revictualled the place. After this exploit he took the route to Harfleur; and, as he had not a sufficient number of troops to undertake the siege in form, he resolved to reduce the town by blockade. For this purpose he entrenched himself so advantageously, that he might have set an army of fifty thousand men at defiance; while the place was blocked up by sea with a fleet of ships commanded by the duke of Somerset. The

A. C. 1438.

A. C. 1439.

A. C. 1439. count d'Eu, lately arrived from England, advanced with a body of troops to attack the English entrenchments; but, perceiving the nature of their situation, he thought proper to retire, after having made a slight attempt, in which Gaucour fell into the hands of Talbot. The blockade lasted four months, at the end of which Talbot reduced the town; then he proceeded to clear the rest of Normandy of the French garrisons that possessed several castles, until the whole province was conquered except the town of Dieppe.

Congress between Calais and Gravelines.

While the generals amused themselves in taking and retaking towns, the sensible part of both nations saw with great regret the war protracted, without any prospect of a conclusion. The pope directed the cardinal de St. a Croce to exhort the two kings in his name to put an end to the effusion of christian blood, which had been shed so profusely in the course of their quarrel; and at the same time, his holiness wrote to the duke of Brittany, intreating him to undertake the office of mediator. That prince having communicated the pope's letter to both kings, found them equally disposed to begin a new negotiation; and the duke of Burgundy was overjoyed at the proposal, because, while the war continued, he ran some risque from the resentment of the English, and could expect no assistance from Charles towards the reduction of his rebellious subjects in Flanders. The duke of Orleans seized this opportunity of offering his mediation in conjunction with that of the duke of Brittany: and renewed his solicitations for leave to confer with that prince at Calais. This was granted, notwithstanding the opposition of the duke of Gloucester, who foresaw that Orleans would not act the part of an impartial mediator. But the cardinal had by this time superseded all the duke's interest in council; and the members were so desirous of peace, that they seemed to have forgot the

vain

vain hopes with which they had been amused by Orleans, when he persuaded them to send ambassadors to the congress at Arras. The two courts therefore appointed commissioners to adjust the preparatory conventions for the congress; and these meeting, agreed that a truce was absolutely necessary towards the success of the negotiation. Henry invested his agents with power to ratify such a cessation, which however did not take place. In the month of January, Isabel of Portugal, dutchess of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Winchester, conferred together between Calais and Gravelines, where they agreed, that the conferences should be opened between the two crowns, under the mediation of the dukes of Brittany and Orleans; and the plenipotentiaries on each side were chosen from the principal noblemen of both kingdoms. Those of England were furnished with instructions which plainly demonstrated the sincerity of Henry's council; and if the envoys had not been too scrupulous in concealing the extent of their respective powers, in all probability, the negotiation would have succeeded. But, they were so cautious of betraying any part of their instructions that might give their opponents an advantage over them, that the conferences broke up before they had an opportunity of coming to a right understanding. The English did not think proper to advance beyond the second article of their instructions, which directed them to propose, that Charles should possess the provinces on the other side of the Loire, on condition of doing homage to Henry; and the French limited their concessions to the proposal made in the conference at Arras, importing that their master, as sole king of France, should cede Guienne and Normany to Henry, as dependent fiefs of the French king, for which the English monarch should do homage. They mentioned this as an instance of great condescension in

A. C. 1439. Charles, who had not risen in his demands since the congress at Arras, although he had lately extended his conquests, and even made himself master of the capital. Peace could not possibly be concluded while both kings insisted upon these terms; for, neither offered to cede any thing that was in his power, though each expected that the other would divest himself of what he actually possessed. After the ambassadors had mutually endeavoured to discover how far their powers extended, they parted without coming to any determination; each side expecting that the other would make more equitable propositions.

Proposals
for setting
the duke of
Orleans at
liberty.

The dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were the only persons who reaped any advantage from this conference. The first was determined to do something for the relief of his subjects in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, who had suffered grievously from the interruption of their trade with England. He therefore employed the good offices of his dutchess, who being nearly related to king Henry, had several conferences with the cardinal of Winchester, on pretence of mediating an accommodation between the two crowns; and negotiated a commercial truce between England and the Low Countries. But, the duke of Orleans was still a greater gainer by the conference; in consequence of which, he obtained his liberty after a captivity that lasted five and twenty years. We have already observed, that the cardinal had gained an ascendancy over the spirit of the king, who being a weak, timorous prince, was easily persuaded that the duke of Gloucester intended to keep him in perpetual servitude; and that his ambition was prejudicial to the interest of the kingdom. Henry's passions had been so artfully prepossessed against his uncle, that he conceived an aversion to his character, and constantly declared against every proposal which

Rymcr.

which the duke made in council. This nobleman A. C. 1439 had always opposed the release of the duke of Orleans; not only in deference to the dying request of his brother, but also, because he was persuaded that in releasing the duke of Orleans, they should augment the enemies of England. Gloucester's opposition was of advantage to his proposal of assisting at the congress. His mediation was accepted; and when the conferences opened, he seemed extremely zealous for an accommodation. By means of the dutchess of Burgundy he was reconciled to the duke her husband; and the cardinal, at his return to England, represented his conduct in the most advantageous light to the council, observing, that since he had exerted his utmost endeavours for the benefit of the nation, he ought not to be a loser by the miscarriage of the treaty. His friends took A. C. 1440 this opportunity of advancing the two arguments which have been already mentioned in his behalf; namely, that the division between him and the duke of Burgundy might revive, and be productive of advantage to England; and that his ransom would help to maintain the war. They proposed, however, that before his release he should take an oath to the king, and swear that he would in no shape support the interest of Charles.

The duke of Gloucester perceiving that the council was determined to treat with Orleans about his enlargement, entered a formal protest to the following purpose: That, considering the weakness of Charles and his son the dauphin, together with the capacity, insinuation, and influence of the duke of Orleans, there was the greatest reason to believe the states of France would confer upon him the administration of affairs; an event, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to England, as that prince was so well acquainted with the weak parts of this government and kingdom: That, in all

*Protest of
the duke of
Gloucester.*

A. C. 1440.

probability, the duke of Orleans would mediate a reconciliation between Charles and the dauphin; so that England would lose all the advantages she might otherwise derive from that dissension: That the duke having already acknowledged Charles for his sovereign, could not take an oath to Henry, without laying himself under the necessity of infringing one or other of these obligations; and that therefore, he would naturally observe the first rather than the last; which he would always consider as extorted during his captivity, and which indeed, he could not observe without forfeiting his title and estate: That he could give no security to which they might have recourse, in case he should violate his oath, on pretence of obeying the absolute commands of his sovereign: That the reconciliation lately effected at Calais between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy seemed rather to presage an union of their interests against the English, than a dissension which might be serviceable to his majesty: That, if any of the noblemen who served the king in France, should happen to be taken in the course of the war, four or five of such prisoners might be exchanged for the duke of Orleans; but, this advantage would be lost by his release: That, should the enlargement of that prince occasion the loss of all the English conquests in France, the people would not fail to exclaim against the king's counsellors, who advised a measure by which the king had been deprived of all the glory and advantage acquired at the price of the late king's life, and of the lives of the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and such an infinite number of princes, nobles, and gentlemen, as had died or fallen in France, since the beginning of the dispute: lastly, That the late king, wisely foreseeing the danger that would arise from the release of the duke of Orleans, had in his last moments recommended the detention of that prince,

until a solid peace could be re-established. Such were the principal articles of the protest which the duke of Gloucester made in council, intreating his majesty would order it to be enrolled; and that a copy of it, authenticated by the great seal, should be delivered into his hands, that it might serve to acquit him in any future inquiry. The king complied with his desire in this particular; but, his protest did not hinder the council from executing the resolution they had taken in behalf of the duke of Orleans.

The conventions relating to his enlargement were signed and sealed by both parties on the second day of July; and he obtained his liberty on much easier conditions than those he had offered of his own accord before the congress at Arras. He was not obliged to acknowledge Henry as king of France; much less, to deliver the towns he had formerly offered as a security for the performance of his contract. His word and oath were deemed sufficient for the payment of his ransom; which was fixed at one hundred and twenty thousand crowns. He engaged, indeed, to pay one half of the sum before his departure from England, and give the obligations of the dauphin, the duke of Bretagne, and some other princes, for the remainder, to be remitted after his release. He likewise undertook to deliver into the hands of his majesty, letters patent of king Charles, authorising this agreement; and promising to hold the duke of Orleans as infamous, should he violate his engagements. Before he quitted England, however, he declared to the council, that he could not possibly raise the first moiety of his ransom, unless they would permit him to visit his estate in France; and he was indulged with leave to absent himself for a whole year on that account. Yet, in order to dazzle the eyes of the public, which could not, without murmuring, be-

The duke of Orleans is released, after a captivity of five and twenty years.

AA. P.

A.C. 1440.

hold the injunction of the late king so palpably neglected, Henry declared, by a public act, that in setting the duke of Orleans at liberty, he did not intend to contradict the will of his father; and, that his sole view was to hasten the conclusion of a peace. For this purpose, a new convention was made with the duke; in which it was stipulated, that he should exert his utmost endeavours to effect an accommodation between the two crowns; and in case of success, he should be acquitted of his whole ransom; but, should his efforts miscarry, he promised to return to his captivity in England. This agreement was entirely calculated for the satisfaction of the people, without any intention of performance. The duke taking leave of England, was conducted to Gravelines, where he renewed his oath for the performance of his engagements; and, on the twelfth day of November was met by the duke of Burgundy, whose niece, Margaret of Cleves, he married at St. Omer, according to a late agreement between him and Philip, when the dutchess of Burgundy became responsible to the king of England for the dauphin's obligation, to pay thirty thousand crowns of the ransom.

League of
the princes
of France
against
Charles.

The duke of Brittany still pretended to observe a neutrality, although the succours which his brother the constable brought, from time to time, into the army of Charles, could not be levied in his country, without his consent and connivance. At another juncture, the English would have resented this collusion; but considering the present posture of their affairs, they seemed contented with the duke's forbearing to declare openly in favour of their enemies. Nevertheless, as the English and Bretons molested one another by sea, and interrupted trade, to the mutual prejudice of both nations; the king and duke found it convenient to conclude a treaty, by which they mutually engaged to

to hinder all armaments from being equipped in their harbours, with a view to injure the subjects of each other. The earl of Warwick, who had superseded the duke of York as regent of France, dying in the course of this year, the duke resumed that office; and had he been properly supported, might have restored the affairs of England to their former lustre; for, at this period, the dauphin and all the princes of the blood, except the duke of Burgundy, and the count D'Eu, engaged in a league to depose Charles, and raise his son to the throne. Luckily for the French king, they numbered La Tremouille among their associates; and, as the constable mortally hated that nobleman, he the more warmly espoused the cause of Charles; and supported him so powerfully, that he was in a condition to maintain his royalty against all the confederates. This civil war, known by the name of La Praguerie, was so ill conducted by them, that in a little time, they were obliged to implore the king's mercy. While this insurrection continued, the English did not attempt to strike any stroke of importance, contenting themselves with a few slight incursions into the neighbourhood of Paris, to which Charles returned after the termination of the civil war.

The dutchess of Burgundy having employed all her interest in persuading the two kings to renew the conferences for a peace, they were at length prevailed upon to appoint plenipotentiaries for that purpose; St. Omer was the place pitched upon for the congress; and, the duke of Orleans chosen as one of the mediators. This conference proved as ineffectual as the former. The count de Vendome, chief of the French embassy, refused to treat with the English envoys, on pretence of their being his inferiors in rank and quality; though they were both peers of England, namely, the bishop of Ro-

Who besieges and takes Pontoise.

A C. 1441.

A. C. 1441. chester, and the lord Fanhop. In the reign of Henry V. the French did not take such exceptions. They were then glad to confer with simple doctors of the law, properly authoris'd. During this negotiation Charles assembled an army, with which he invested Creil on the river Oyse, which capitulated about the end of April. His next enterprize was the siege of Pontoise, which he undertook with twelve thousand men, in the beginning of July. The dauphin and all the best generals in France were present upon this occasion; and the attacks were carried on with extraordinary valour. The garrison defended themselves with equal prowess; and, Talbot forcing one of the French quarters, introduced a convoy, which inspired them with fresh courage; so that the besiegers made but slow progress. Notwithstanding all their care and vigilance against the attempts of such a formidable warrior, he found means at three different times, to succour the besieged; but, Charles still obstinately persisted in his resolution to take the place, which he had besieged at the request of the Parisians, who defrayed the whole expence of the enterprize. At length, the duke of York having received a small reinforcement from England, which raised the number of his troops to eight thousand, he approached Pontoise, and sent a herald with a message to the king, challenging him to battle. Charles replied, that he did not intend to regulate his conduct according to the desires of his enemy. The river Oyse ran between the two armies, and the bridge was guarded by a detachment of a thousand men; so that he continued the siege at leisure, without any apprehension of being attacked. The duke of York, however, transported five or six hundred men by night, in boats made of tanned leather: this detachment falling suddenly upon the guard of the bridge, put them

all

all to the sword, and opened the passage for the rest of the English army. Charles was seized with such consternation at this unforeseen assault, that he forthwith raised the siege, and retired under the cannon of Poissi. Thither he was followed by the duke of York, who again challenged him to battle; but, he refused to quit his post; and the regent retreated, after having pillaged the abbey of Poissi, and the neighbourhood. The precipitate retreat from Pontoise, before an army much less numerous than his own, produced great clamours against Charles; whose reputation suffered to such a degree, that his friends gave him to understand, it would be absolutely necessary to re-establish his character by some signal exploit. Thus roused, he marched back to Pontoise, when he was least expected, recommenced the siege, which he carried on with surprising vigour; and at length, took the place by assault, he himself mounting the breach among the foremost, and fighting hand to hand with the bravest of the defenders. This achievement intirely effaced the bad impressions his retreat had made, and convinced his subjects, that his aversion to military operations was not owing to want of personal courage, but the effect of an indolent disposition, which he could not help indulging. Some time after this exploit, he reduced the town of Evreux, by means of a fisherman, who introduced a body of French forces sufficient to expel the English garrison.

Hist. de Ch.
VII.

During these transactions in France, the cardinal of Winchester, not contented with having ruined the interest of the duke of Gloucester in the council, concerted schemes against the life of that prince, by endeavouring to fix upon him the imputation of high treason. He hoped, that the neglect of the king, and the repeated slights he had sustained from the council, would have provoked a man of his warm

Prosecution
against the
dutchess of
Gloucester.

A. C. 1441. warm temper to use some expressions that might be construed to his prejudice; and he introduced spies into his family, in order to watch his conversation. But the duke, with all his imperfections, was too warmly attached to his sovereign, to furnish the least handle of this sort against himself; and, the cardinal was obliged to change his battery. Being perfectly well acquainted with the weakness, pride, and ambition of Humphrey's dutchess, he directed his agents to observe her conduct; and they perceived that she maintained a secret correspondence with a priest called Roger Bolinbroke, who pretended to understand negromancy, and a woman who dealt in love-powders and incantations. Sir John Hume another priest, and one Woodhame, who acted as the cardinal's emissaries, found means to insinuate themselves into this cabal; and made such reports of their communication as were judged sufficient grounds for granting a warrant against Bolinbroke; who was no sooner committed to prison, than the dutchess retired to the sanctuary of Westminster. The rest of the accomplices being seized and examined, a process was formed against her, for having practised sorcery against the life of the king, by making an image in wax to resemble his majesty, and melting it gradually before the fire, in hope that, as this consumed, the king's constitution would decay. The dutchess being persuaded to quit the sanctuary, was confronted with Bolinbroke, who denied there was any intention to deal with the devil, or injure his majesty; and all that the dutchess confessed was, her having consulted those accomplices about giving a love-potion to her husband, to prevent the alienation of his affection. Hume and Woodhame insisted on the circumstance of the image; and, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the cardinal of Winchester, and the bishop of Salisbury, who were appointed

pointed to inquire into this mysterious affair, made a report so unfavourable for the dutchess, that a court, consisting of the earls of Huntingdon, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, was erected to try her for high-treason. After having examined all the evidence, they referred the matter to the ecclesiastical court; by which she was sentenced to do public penance for three days successively, by walking barefoot and bareheaded, with a wax taper in her hand, through the streets of London to St. Paul's church; and then to be committed to prison for life, to the custody of Sir Thomas Stanley. A sentence which was literally executed; the enemies of Gloucester hoping, that this public disgrace would either ruin his popularity, or provoke him to take some desperate measures against the government: but, they were disappointed in their expectation. The duke was an enthusiast in loyalty, and bore his wrongs with the utmost resignation; and the disgrace of his wife, instead of bringing him into contempt with the people, served only to incense them against his adversaries.

Ever since the duke's credit declined in the council, the war in France seemed almost utterly neglected; and every favourable opportunity of retrieving the English conquests was overlooked. Immediately after the reduction of Pontoise, the princes of France engaged in a new league against Charles; and this association was headed by the duke of Orleans, who had been incensed at the cold reception he met with from the king, after a captivity of five and twenty years, incurred in the defence of his sovereign, during which, he had done important services to his country. This confederacy would have been much more dangerous than the former, if the king had not prudently detached the duke from it by considerable concessions; and the defection of this prince broke the measures of the associates,

The French king marches to the relief of Tartas.

A. C. 1441. sociates, who had recourse again to the king's clemency. This storm being overblown, Charles assembled a numerous army to relieve Tartas, a town of Guienne, belonging to the house of Albret; which was besieged by the earl of Huntingdon. The garrison having made a gallant defence till the month of January, at length capitulated, on condition, that the place should be deposited in the hands of two noblemen in that country, to be delivered to the English, if not relieved by the twenty-fourth day of June. Charles having time enough to make preparations, passed the winter in Poictou, where he mustered a very numerous army; to which

A. C. 1442. all the noblemen of the kingdom resorted. In the spring, he began his march to Limoges, from whence he advanced to Montauban; and then took the route to Tholouse, where he summoned the counts of Armagnac and Comminges to appear before the parliament of that city, and answer to the charge of Margaret, wife to the latter; whom they had detained two and twenty years prisoner in a castle, because she refused to bequeath to her husband the county of Comminges, which was her own patrimony. She had married Matthew de Grailly, brother of John count de Foix; by whom she had one daughter, of an infirm constitution. The father supposing, that the life of this child would not be of long duration, pressed the countess to declare him heir to his own daughter; but she resisted all his solicitations. Her refusal produced a quarrel and separation. The husband agreed to a partition of her territories with the count d'Armagnac; who attacked, defeated, and took the countess prisoner. During her confinement, however, she found means to make a will in favour of her daughter; and, in case of her death, bequeathing her county of Comminges to Charles VII. king of France. The daughter dying in a little time

time after this will was executed; and Charles being informed of the clause in his favour, he resolved to set the countess at liberty, and obtain her confirmation of the will. It was for this purpose that he summoned her husband and the count de Armagnac to Tholouse; whither this last was obliged to bring the old countess now ~~turned~~ of fourscore. She was immediately set at liberty; and her will being confirmed by a decree of the parliament, Charles took possession of the county of Comminges. The count of Armagnac was not only obliged to part with his acquisition; but, even forbid to exercise the rights of regality within his own territories. He looked upon this severity as a very ungrateful requital for all the services which his family had done to the crown of France; and resolved to take the first opportunity of revenging himself upon Charles. In these sentiments, he sent ambassadors to demand the protection of Henry, and offer one of his daughters in marriage to that monarch. His proposal being examined in council, was accepted. The king forthwith appointed ambassadors to regulate the conditions of the match, and conclude the alliance. Mean while Charles approaching Tartas, the English under Huntingdon finding themselves in no condition to give battle to such a numerous army, retired; and the place was restored to the lord of Albret, according to the capitulation. The English council was not ignorant of the French king's preparations for this expedition; but they took no steps to oppose his design; and seemed intirely to neglect the defence of Guienne, which was now upon the point of being withdrawn from the dominion of England. Charles made himself master of St. Sever; invested Ais, which surrendered after a siege of seven weeks; La Reole was taken by storm; Marmande fell into the hands of the French; and Charles after these conquests

A. C. 1440.

Monstrelet.

Act. Publ.

A. C. 1442. quests retired to Tholouse, where he spent the winter.

Talbot
forms the
blockade of
Dieppe.

At length the English seemed to wake from their infatuation, and resolved to make a diversion at the other end of the kingdom. Five thousand men being levied in England, the command of them was given to Talbot, lately created earl of Shrewsbury, who, landing in Normandy, soon compelled the Bastard of Orleans to quit the field. While the earl besieged the castle of Couches, the other, who was lately honoured with the title of count de Dunois, endeavoured to make a diversion, by investing Galardon; but Couches being taken in a few days, he did not think proper to wait for the English, who advanced to give him battle. When Dunois retired, the earl of Shrewsbury marched to Dieppe, the most important place which the French king possessed in Normandy; and as he had not a sufficient number of troops to carry on the siege in form, he took by assault the fort of Charles-Mesnil, situated on the mountain of Polet, so as to command the avenues of the town: and as the month of November was already well advanced, he resolved to block up the town during the winter. With this view he enlarged the fort he had taken, repaired the works, raised his batteries, and leaving the conduct of the siege to his natural son, returned to England, to solicit a more considerable reinforcement. This he had little reason to expect with that promptitude which the nature of the service required: he found the king and council intirely under the management of the cardinal, who had starved the English interest in France, and whose pride, insolence, and ambition, had by this time rendered him odious to the whole nation.

Hist. de Ch.
VII.

The duke of
Gloucester
impeaches
the cardinal
of Winches-
ter.

The public clamour was so loud against this meddling prelate, as a furious persecutor of all those who opposed the pope's usurpation, that the duke

of

of Gloucester ventured to impeach him before the council, in fourteen articles, importing, That he had accepted the dignity of cardinal contrary to the order of the late king, and to the prejudice of the metropolitan church of Canterbury: That, in procuring a bull from the pope, to secure him in possession of the bishopric of Winchester, after he had forfeited his right to that see, he had acted contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and in particular to the statute of Premunire: That, in conjunction with John Kemp archbishop of York, he had engrossed the government of the king's person, without legal authority: That he had defrauded the king of his jewels: That, while chancellor of the realm, he had sealed an order for releasing the king of Scotland; and another for remitting the ransom of that prince, on condition that he should espouse his niece: That he had deprived the king of his revenues, in receiving for his own use the custom for wool in the port of Southampton: That he had presumed to summon persons before him, to the prejudice of the rights of the crown and the royal authority: That he had obtained from Rome an exemption from taxes, in favour of his diocese, to the prejudice of his majesty, thereby setting a pernicious example to other prelates: That he had been the instrument for reconciling the duke of Burgundy with king Charles and the duke of Orleans, to the manifest disadvantage of England: That, while he acted as ambassador and plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace, he had sent the archbishop of York to persuade his majesty to renounce his title to the crown of France, to the disgrace of the king and his illustrious ancestors: That the enlargement of the duke of Orleans had been procured by his intrigues and those of the duke of York, against the express injunction of the late king: That in the station of chancellor, he

A. C. 1442. he himself had purchased lands of the king, instead of preventing such alienations, according to the duty of his office: That, in granting commissions in the army to none but his own creatures, he had been the occasion of all the losses sustained in France: And that he had sold commissions to persons unqualified for the service. These articles were read in council; but, as all the members were devoted to the cardinal, they admitted the act of amnesty which had been passed in favour of that prelate, to whom the king granted a new pardon. The cardinal was by this time in full possession of the court and council. He had introduced the earl of Suffolk into the service of Henry, who conceived such an affection for that nobleman, that he was entirely guided by his direction. This favourite represented Winchester as the subject upon whose parts and fidelity his chief dependence ought to be placed; and John Kemp archbishop of York seconded his recommendation. Not contented with extolling the character of the cardinal, they took all opportunities of reviling Gloucester, whom they painted as a very dangerous nobleman, who had designs upon the crown, and who endeavoured to engage his majesty in false measures, by which he might incur the hatred and contempt of his subjects. The king, who was equally destitute of spirit and penetration, believed these suggestions: and the duke's impatient temper seemed to confirm their accusations; for he could not endure the daily mortifications to which he was exposed, without expressing his resentment, and even denouncing vengeance against his adversaries.

A. C. 1443.
Truce with
the duke of
Burgundy.

In the beginning of the year, a secret negotiation was brought upon the carpet between Henry and the duke of Burgundy, who, despairing of a general accommodation, resolved to extricate himself from a ruinous war, by means of a particular
truce

truce with England. This he was the rather disposed to conclude, as he had reasons to be dissatisfied with Charles; to believe the reconciliation was altogether political on the side of the French king; and that so soon as his affairs should be re-established, his former animosity would be revived. He therefore thought he should act against his own interest in assisting him to finish a war, the success of which might render him too powerful; and he vested his dutchess with full power, to conclude a general truce for all his dominions with the king of England. That which was already made, related only to the commerce between the Low Countries and that kingdom; but this which the dutchess concluded in April, comprehended Burgundy and all the duke's territories in general, to continue in force until one of the parties should renounce the engagement; in which case, he should give notice of his intention three months before the actual rupture.

The blockade of Dieppe had now continued eight months, during which no succours arrived from England; and Charles resolving to relieve the place before the arrival of the expected reinforcement, the dauphin earnestly solicited the command of this expedition. It was not without reluctance that his father complied with his request. He dreaded the turbulent disposition of that young prince; and was afraid of trusting him with a body of forces, at the head of which he might renew his rebellious measures. These considerations, however, yielded to the necessity of relieving Dieppe, which was now reduced to extremity. The dauphin began his march from Guienne with four thousand horse; and perceiving that the fort of Charles-Mesnil, possessed by the English, was impregnable from the side of the country, he threw himself into the place in spite of all their opposition. Without giving them time to recollect themselves, he made a sally with all his

Montstrelet.

The dauphin raises the siege of Dieppe.

A. C. 1443. forces; and attacking it on the side of the town, was repulsed in three successive assaults: in the fourth, however, he carried the place sword in hand; and the English, finding themselves thus disabled from continuing the blockade, retired in good order. John duke of Somerset arrived from England in about five days after their retreat, and brought a reinforcement of five thousand men, which, had it landed sooner, might have prevented the dauphin's success: but the blockade being raised, all he could do was to ravage part of the country, and reduce some inconsiderable castles.

The count of Armagnac is decoyed into the hands of the French king.

While the dauphin gathered laurels in Normandy, the count d'Armagnac assembled a body of forces, and retook part of the county of Comminges, which he had lost by the award of the parliament of Thoulouse; and Charles, who was immersed in voluptuous pleasures at Tours, could not be prevailed upon to relinquish his ease, and check the progress of this new enemy. He reserved the glory of this expedition for the dauphin, who, at his return from Normandy, undertook it without hesitation. At his approach the count found himself abandoned by all his friends; nor did the English take the least step for supporting his interest, although their king was contracted to his daughter. The dauphin therefore met with very little opposition in reducing Rouvergne, and all the dominions of the count, except the little town of Lisle in Jourdain, which was for a long time besieged in vain. At length the dauphin, despairing of being able to reduce it by force, invited the count to a conference, on the faith of a safe-conduct, and sent him to the king, who detained him without scruple; though, after a confinement of two years, he was released and restored to the possession of his territories, at the intercession of the kings of Castile and Navarre. His misfortune, however, interrupted the

the negotiation about the match between the king of England, and his daughter, which was never resumed in the sequel. A. C. 1443.

France and England were by this time equally tired of a pernicious war, which had raged for thirty years without interruption. The princes and grandes of France were quite disheartened by the fatigues and losses they had sustained; the country and towns were deserted; and the kingdom, tho' formerly populous, could no longer furnish soldiers for the service: the duke of Orleans, in pursuance of his engagements, continually solicited Charles to listen to terms of accommodation; the duke of Burgundy pressed him on the same subject; and all the people ardently wished for an end to the calamities of war. England was no less desirous of peace: all the money of the kingdom was sunk in the bottomless gulph of this war, from whence it never could be retrieved. The king was naturally pacific; and his council, chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, plainly perceived that the continuation of an unsuccessful war must render them odious to the people, who generally impute every miscarriage to the misconduct of the administration. The duke of Gloucester alone was of opinion that they ought to make fresh efforts, to reap the advantage of the French king's weakness, and the separate truce lately concluded with the duke of Burgundy; but his opinion was of no weight with a council made up of his professed enemies. The two kings at length agreed to a congress: and the English ministry was so tame as to consent to its being held at Tours, where Charles resided, as if they had gone to his court to beg an accommodatin. The earl of Suffolk was appointed chief of the embassy; and, as his power reached even farther than a treaty with France, he was furnished with an authentic order of council, directing him to execute every point

A. C. 1444.
Congress at
Tours.

A. C. 1444. of his instructions. The conferences being opened, several propositions were started on both sides, on the subject of a general peace; but as they were mutually rejected, the whole result of the negotiation was a truce for about two years between the two crowns; and, in the course of the same year, another for seven years was concluded at Edinburgh between England and Scotland.

Rymer.

Match between Henry and Margaret of Anjou.

This affair being terminated, the earl of Suffolk proceeded to execute the other part of his commission. He proposed a match between the king his master, and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, who, since the death of his elder brother Lewis, had assumed the title of king of Sicily. She was a princess of great beauty, spirit, penetration, and fortitude; and extremely well calculated for answering the expectation of Suffolk, who had already prepossessed Henry in her favour, in hope of engaging her in the cabal against the popular duke of Gloucester. Though the proposal was extremely agreeable to France, Charles, who knew the impatience of Henry and his council, managed the treaty with such address, that the earl of Suffolk, instead of demanding a dower with Margaret, promised, in the name of his master, that the whole province of Maine should be ceded to her uncle Charles of Anjou. The articles of the marriage being adjusted, the earl returned to England to lay his transactions before the ministry, that they might be approved and confirmed by the king and council. The duke of Gloucester, who now for the first time understood the nature of the treaty, vehemently opposed it with two reasons, which indeed were unanswerable. He observed that the king was already engaged in a contract of marriage with the daughter of the count of Armagnac, which he could not renounce with any regard to honour and good faith; and that Maine, being

being the bulwark of Normandy, could not be ceded without exposing that whole province to the most imminent danger. This, like all his other remonstrances, was neglected, and the earl of Suffolk empowered to espouse the princess Margaret, as Henry's proxy. That weak prince was so well pleased with this preposterous alliance, that, in token of his satisfaction, he created the earl marquis of Suffolk; John Holland earl of Huntingdon was promoted to the dukedom of Exeter; Humphrey earl of Stafford was honoured with the title of duke of Buckingham; and that of duke of Warwick bestowed upon Henry, son of the late earl, who had been regent in France. The nuptials were solemnized in the city of Tours, in presence of king Charles and all his court, with such magnificence as but ill agreed with the poverty of the bride, and the low circumstances of both nations. This ceremony was performed in November; and in spring the new queen set out for England, accompanied by an honourable train of English ladies, who repaired to France for that purpose. On the eighteenth day of April she landed at Portchester, and was re-married in the priory of Southwark; from thence she proceeded to London; and, on the thirtieth day of May was crowned in Westminster-Abbey. She at once gained the ascendancy over Henry's spirit; and entered into a close correspondence and intimate association with the marquis of Suffolk, the cardinal of Winchester, and the archbishop of York; a confederacy cemented by their mutual interest against the duke of Gloucester, whom they considered as their common enemy.

Rymer.
Ch. W. Wy-
recestre.

The parliament had met before Margaret's arrival; and, after her coronation, the marquis of Suffolk made a speech to both houses, expatiating upon the advantages of this alliance, as well as up-

Truce with
France pro-
longed.

A. C. 1445. on his own services, both in the cabinet and in the field; but in particular he held forth upon the conduct, prudence, and address, with which he had adjusted the articles of this last treaty, which would be attended with peace and satisfaction to the whole nation. The parliament took his own word for the importance of his services, approved his management; and out of two fifteenths, which they granted for the occasions of the state, allotted one half to this nobleman, to defray the expence of bringing over the princess. The rest of the year was employed in negotiations for renewing the conferences, and facilitating an interview between the two kings, which they imagined would contribute more than any other measure, towards a solid pacification. Accordingly the ministers of the two crowns agreed that their sovereigns should meet in some part of France; and that, for this purpose, Henry should cross the sea to Calais, that he might be at hand to repair to the place appointed: but several difficulties being started about the place of meeting, the interview was postponed; and, in the interim, both sides consented to a prolongation of the truce. In the course of this year, Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canterbury dying, after he had possessed that see for thirty years, was succeeded by John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wells, whose promotion was owing to the interest of the cardinal.

A. C. 1446.

The duke of Gloucester impeached before the council.

The duke of York having no further business in France, returned to England, where he met with a very favourable reception at court; and the king, in token of his approbation, granted a patent, by which he was continued five years longer in the regency of France. The queen and her cabal being now sufficiently established in their authority, and having nothing to fear from a parliament devoted to their will, began to devise measures for ruining the

the duke of Gloucester, whose popularity was very A. C. 1446.
formidable, and who, should he ever ascend the
throne, of which he was presumptive heir, would
undoubtedly call them to account for their conduct.

The queen, who was a princess of a very imperious
and vindictive disposition, resented the duke's oppo-
sition to her marriage with a degree of virulence
which all his submission and profession of regard
could not assuage. Their first step towards his de-
struction was a ridiculous impeachment, in conse-
quence of which, he was removed from the coun-
cil; though he justified his conduct in such a man-
ner, that even his enemies were obliged to acquit
him of the crime laid to his charge. The popu-
lace, among whom he had acquired the epithet of
the good duke of Gloucester, espoused his cause
with such warmth, that nothing was heard in Lon-
don but execrations against the ministry, and such
menaces, as plainly demonstrated that it would be
impossible for the cabal to take away his life, under
colour of law, without running the risk of some
dangerous convulsion in the state: they therefore
determined to accuse him publicly of some crime,
that would furnish them with a pretext for confin-
ing him to close prison, where he might be pri-
vately dispatched without noise or commotion. For
this purpose, they convoked a parliament to meet
in February at St. Edmundsbury; and in the
mean time affected to caress the duke of Gloucester
in such a manner as was most likely to arouse his
suspicion, and intimidate him from appearing at
that assembly; in which case, they would have had
some reason to put him under arrest. In order to
corroborate this suspicion, they employed emissaries
to caution him against repairing to parliament, where
he would certainly be accused of divers crimes and
misdemeanours: they assured him that measures
were already taken for his condemnation; and that

A. C. 1446. his enemies had chosen Edmundsbury for the scene of their malice, because it was at a distance from London, where he was not so popular.

His sudden death.

Notwithstanding all these insinuations, he would not, by absenting himself from the parliament, give the least occasion for suspecting him guilty of crimes to which he was a stranger; and he went to Edmundsbury at the time appointed, secure in the consciousness of his own innocence. On the very first day of the session, he was arrested and committed to close prison, on pretence of an information charging him with a design to assassinate the king, seize the crown, and deliver his wife from the castle of Kenilworth, where she was detained a prisoner. All the duke's well-wishers, though incensed at the injustice of this arrest, took it for granted that he would acquit himself honourably on his trial, and were the less alarmed for that very reason: but the unfortunate prince had no opportunity to manifest the falsity of the charge. After having been confined seventeen days, without any trial, he was found dead in his bed; and supposed, by every unprejudiced person, to have been deprived of his life by the contrivance of his enemies. In order to prevent unfavourable conjectures, the body was exposed three days successively; and, though no external marks of violence appeared, the people did not scruple to say he had undergone the fate of his namesake, who was smothered at Calais; or that of the second Edward, who had been cruelly murdered in Berkley-Castle. Be that as it may, the death of Humphrey duke of Gloucester was bitterly lamented by the people in general, and particularly by learned men and ingenious artists, of whom he was the constant protector and patron. After his decease reports were industriously circulated to the prejudice of his character, in order to impress the public with a notion of his having been actually

Stowe.

Hall.

Speed.

Polyd. Virg.

actually guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. His domestics were apprehended on suspicion of being accomplices; and a commission of Oyer and Terminer granted to the marquis of Suffolk and others, to try them for high treason. Sir Roger Chamberlayn, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Richard and Arthur Needham, with other gentlemen of the duke's family, and twenty-seven inferior servants, were, after a confinement of several months, brought to trial at Deptford; and being convicted of a design to raise the duke of Gloucester to the throne of England, received sentence of death, to the great scandal of the judges. Suffolk, who conducted this shameful trial, sought to recommend himself to the people by a popular act on this occasion: he suffered the convicts to be drawn thro' the city on sledges to the place of execution, and even to be hung by the necks; but they were immediately cut down alive, and received their pardon, to the inexpressible joy of all the spectators.

Act. Pub.

Even this instance of lenity, so contrary to the nature of Suffolk, could not efface the impressions which had been made upon the public by the murder of Good Duke Humphrey. Henry himself was not suspected of having been concerned in this tragedy, but the queen was universally reviled as the author of the deed; and the marquis, with the rest of the ministry, were cursed by the people with the most bitter imprecations. Nothing more clearly demonstrates the weakness of human foresight, than the fate of the duke of Gloucester; in consequence of which the queen believed herself raised above all opposition; whereas it proved the introduction of numberless calamities, which she and her family underwent in the sequel, because it furnished the duke of York with an opportunity to advance his pretensions to the crown, which in all probability he would not have maintained, or even presumed

The cardinal survives him but one month.

A. C. 1446. presumed to publish, during the life of the duke of Gloucester. The cardinal of Winchester did not long survive the death of his adversary, in which he had been principally concerned. In less than five weeks after the duke's decease, this haughty prelate was seized with a distemper that brought him to his grave; and he died with all the terrors of a guilty conscience. His death deprived the queen, and her favourite Suffolk, of the great weight and influence which was attached to the cardinal's power and immense fortune; and left the marquis more than ever exposed to the hatred and invectives of the people.

Popular
murmurs a-
gainst the
queen and
Suffolk.

The time fixed for the conclusion of the peace with France being elapsed, and no steps taken towards that desirable event, they clamoured against Suffolk, and did not scruple to tax him aloud with having betrayed the interest of his country, in yielding Le Maine to the French; and, in lieu of a solid peace trumping up a ruinous truce, during which the enemy fortified themselves at leisure. These clamours increasing every day, the marquis desired he might be allowed to justify his conduct before the king; and a day being fixed for that purpose, he, in the presence of several noblemen attached to his interest, explained all his transactions in France, and produced the order of council by virtue of which he had acted. The king was so well satisfied with his defence, that he publicly acquitted him of all misconduct; issued letters patent under the great seal, declaring him innocent of all the imputations laid to his charge, and forbidding his subjects, on pain of incurring his displeasure, to say or act any thing to the prejudice of his character. Even this testimony of his innocence could not silence the murmurs of the public. They not only abhorred him as the author of Gloucester's death, and as the traitor who had given away La Maine;

Maine; but they hated him still more implacably, for having effected the marriage between the king and Margaret, which they looked upon as one of the greatest calamities that ever had happened to England. They could not bear the administration of this foreign princess, whose rule was insolent and arbitrary, and who made no other use of the king but that of giving a sanction to her own measures. He was generally employed at his devotions; and she took care to encourage him in those exercises of religion, that his mind and attention might be wholly alienated from the affairs of government. She seemed to despise the murmurs of the people, in defiance of whom she raised her favourite to the dignity of duke of Suffolk, and cultivated such an intimacy of communication with that nobleman as proved of very little advantage to her character.

The universal odium that prevailed against the queen and her minister, added to the inactive disposition and incapacity of the king himself, encouraged Richard duke of York to raise his views to the throne of England. We have already observed that he was heir to Mortimer, descended from Lionel, third son of Edward III. and consequently his title was preferable to that of Henry, who sprang from the loins of John of Gaunt, who was Lionel's younger brother. Before Richard would embark in any measures for the support of his pretensions, he thought proper to sound the inclinations of the people, by emissaries, who took occasion, from the despotic government of Margaret, to observe, that the people were slaves to a double usurpation: that Margaret usurped a power which she had no right to exercise, supposing her husband to be lawful king of England; but that the royalty of the house of Lancaster was founded upon usurpation, which, though it had been rendered

The duke of York is superseded, as regent of France, by the duke of Somerset.

A. C. 1447. dered tolerable by the shining virtues of the late king, was now become insupportable, considering the weakness of Henry, and the pride of his queen, the descendant of a family which had always been at mortal enmity with the English nation; and that, in such an emergency, the people ought to turn their eyes upon the duke of York, who was the true heir of the crown, a prince of great qualities and eminent virtue, who had already done the most important services to his country. Such insinuations, artfully circulated, raised up a great number of partisans to the duke, who did not seem to interest himself in the subject; though the observations of the people on this occasion alarmed the queen and the whole house of Lancaster. They did not doubt but Richard was at the bottom of all this clamour; and they resolved to diminish his credit, by subjecting him to some mortification, and encouraging the rival of his power and reputation. This was Edmund duke of Somerset, who was created regent of France, without any regard to the commission of the duke of York, granted for a term of years not yet expired. Somerset's brother had been always at variance with Richard; and at this juncture Edmund treated him with such insolence as produced an irreconcilable animosity between the houses; though the duke of York at present dissembled his resentment.

Stowe.
Speed.

A. C. 1448.

Mans ceded
to Charles
of Anjou.

We have already observed, that in the negotiation for the king's marriage, it was stipulated that the city of Mans, and the whole country of Le Maine, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou; but hitherto this cession had been delayed by the opposition of the duke of Gloucester, and the murmurs of the English nation. At length Henry sent over two commissioners to deliver the town of Mans to the prince of Anjou, whom they met upon the bridge, in his way to take possession, and made a formal

protest

protest before a public notary, to the following effect: That the king's sole intention in ceding that place, was to procure a solid peace between him and king Charles before the expiration of the truce; that he reserved to himself the sovereignty of the town and province; and that, in case the prince of Anjou should attempt to invalidate that sovereignty, Henry should think himself at liberty to revoke that cession. This town being delivered to the French, the negotiation was continued for the peace, as well as for an interview between the two kings: but fresh difficulties occurred in settling these points, and the truce was prolonged to the first of April in the ensuing year; though it was interrupted before that time, in consequence of an unforeseen accident.

A^d. Pub.

Surienne, an Arragonian knight of the garter, and governor of Lower Normandy for the king of England, surpris'd the town of Fougères, belonging to the duke of Brittany, and plundered the inhabitants. The duke being informed of this outrage, sent an herald to the duke of Somerset, then residing at Rouen, to demand restitution of the place and the pillage. The regent promised that he should receive proper satisfaction. Yet, as it was necessary to examine the particulars of the affair, that they might be communicated to the court of England, the duke of Bretagne could not brook the delay, but complain'd to the king of France of this infraction of the truce, in which his dominions had been expressly comprehended. Charles thought this a favourable opportunity to make advantage of Henry's weakness, and the discontents of the English people, to which he was no stranger. He affected to enter warmly into the resentment of the duke, and sent two ambassadors to London to demand reparation for the affront, as well as the payment of sixteen hundred thousand crowns, to indemnify

The town of
Fougères in
Brittany surpris'd by the
English.

A. C. 1448. indemnify his vassal for the loss he had sustained. The court of England was not a little astonished at the demand of such an exorbitant sum, as well as at the eagerness with which Charles espoused the quarrel of the duke of Bretagne, who had not been comprehended in the treaty as his ally and vassal, but merely as a neutral prince, who had often acted as mediator between the two monarchs. The ministry, however, assured the ambassadors that the king would indemnify the duke, as soon as the particulars of his loss should be ascertained; and they were given to understand, that if Charles would send envoys to Louviers, they should be met by ambassadors from England, empowered to settle all matters in dispute between them and their allies. Conferences were accordingly opened at this place, where the English plenipotentiaries observed that Fougères had been surprised without the consent or knowledge of the regent; and that the sum demanded greatly exceeded the damage which the duke had sustained. The French ambassadors, without paying the least regard to these remonstrances, told them in a peremptory manner, that unless the duke of Bretagne should receive the satisfaction required, their master would consider the truce as infringed; so that the conferences were immediately at an end. Charles was so intent upon recommencing hostilities, while Henry was altogether unprepared for a rupture, that if the court of England had agreed to comply with his demand, he would have found another cause for rekindling the flames of war; and even made a pretence of their having violated the truce with Scotland, before the death of James, the manner of which we have already related. Nevertheless, he still amused the English ministry with negotiations, under the cover of which he prepared for opening the campaign; while Henry's council seemed to sleep at
the

the helm, and took not the least precaution against the brewing storm. They did not even restore the town of Fougères, or endeavour in any shape to appease the duke of Brittany, who was so justly incensed. One would be apt to imagine, that Margaret, having no children of her own to engage her interest and affection in the cause of the English, co-operated with the designs of her family in France, and by her negligence favoured the expulsion of her husband's troops from her native country.

A.C. 1748

Rymer,

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.









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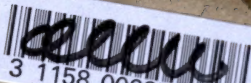
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